Daily Report

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Silajdzic Reportedly Turns Down Peace Plan

LD2901225493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2236 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Haris Silajdzic, the foreign minister of the Moslem Bosnia-Hercegovina, said on Friday [29 January] evening in Geneva that he could not accept the Vance-Owen plan for reshaping Bosnia-Hercegovina because it called for division along ethnic lines.

The Reuters news agency quoted Silajdzic as saying that the government in Sarajevo could not accept a power-sharing plan presented to the leaders of the three sides on Friday. He said the proposal had not been included in the official part of the peace plan.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Friday evening that most of the documents of the Geneva conference were acceptable.

UNSC To Decide on Talks

AU3001170893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] After only one hour, the plenary session at which the three leaders from Bosnia-Hercegovina and cochairmen of the conference Vance and Owen held peace negotiations about this former Yugoslav republic concluded in the Palace of Nations in Geneva. Here is Momcilo Blagojevic reporting from Geneva:

[Begin recording] The complex of documents in three parts concerning peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina that was drafted by Cyrus Vance and David Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] was for the most part adopted by the delegations. Some of them, however, retained some dissent toward individual provisions and solutions. Along with all these reservations of the delegations, the peace agreement will be sent to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, together with the two cochairmen's report about the entire course of the negotiations and the final outcome.

Cyrus Vance and David Owen announced today that they expect the Security Council to make a decision about this agreement after it hears their opinions, explanations of the sides in the conflict, and stands of other interested parties.

Although the peace plan drafted by Vance and Owen was not completely adopted by the delegations at the final plenary session held in the Palace of Nations today, speaking at a news conference, Cyrus Vance said that what has been reached at these negotiations nevertheless represents a significant progress.

Lord Owen said precisely that he expects the Security Council to apply certain coercive measures with a view to implementing this agreement. According to him, these measures can be political, economic, or military.

Vance said that all three sides have accepted the constitutional principles and signed them today. The Serbian and Croatian delegations accepted the military agreement from this package, and Karadzic and Boban signed that document today. Mate Boban also accepted and signed the maps on the borders among the provinces. Dr. Radovan Karadzic and Alija Izetbegovic did not agree to the map.

Cyrus Vance and David Owen are leaving for New York on Monday [1 February] expecting the Security Council to make a decision next week on how to continue these negotiations and implement the agreement on peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

Participants Comment on Talks

AU3001215093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Report by Snezana Rodic from Geneva; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Rodic] This is how the leaders of the three negotiating sides assessed the negotiations in Geneva, when speaking at separate news conferences:

[Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "We have the pleasure to inform you that the delegation of Bosnian Serbs has accepted the package proposed by the cochairmen. Of course, the maps were left to be resolved later, through negotiations and most probably through local referenda or in some other political way.

"You have seen that this conference was very sensitive and difficult, but after all, we think that we have achieved a great success. First, we have created opportunities for stopping the war and establishing peace. For the sake of peace, the Serbian people did not insist on the right to self-determination, although this right was never used up, it has never expired, and we have retained it and used it when we accepted the nine constitutional principles of the future Bosnia-Hercegovina."

[Rodic] Karadzic rejected Bosnian President Izetbegovic's accusations about new war operations and the continuation of ethnic cleansing. He also pointed out that the right of a people to self-determination was refused to the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina alone, while secession was rewarded.

After all, Bosnia-Hercegovina must be some kind of a confederation. That is a matter of time and a democratic process, Karadzic concluded.

[Izetbegovic] "We have not signed the map, and we have not signed the document called the Agreement on Peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have not signed the maps for a reason that we may briefly call ethnic cleansing. This is why we are not going to accept these maps, and we are going to insist that they be corrected."

[Rodic] We have made a great compromise by accepting a decentralized state, Izetbegovic said. For Bosnian Muslims, the greatest shortcoming of the peace agreement is its segment on placing heavy weapons under UN control. Izetbegovic insisted that they should be stationed at one place and controlled efficiently.

[Bosnian Croat leader Boban] "There is always sense in attending talks about peace and about Bosnia-Hercegovina, wherever these talks may take place. No matter if we accept the outcome of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in all its details, it is very important to attend all meetings where that is discussed."

[Rodic] Let us say in conclusion that the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue in Geneva, with the parties discussing how to implement agreements and organize transitory governments at all levels.

Karadzic Calls Talks 'Success'

LD3001203993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1911 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], said at a news conference after the plenary session today that the Serb side had accepted the package of documents proposed by the cochairman and that the question of the maps had been deferred and would be resolved either through negotiations, a local referendum, or other political means.

Despite everything, we achieved a great success; possibilities have been created for halting the war and establishing peace, Karadzic assessed. He added that for the sake of peace the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not insist on its right to self-determination.

Asked to comment on the statement by Lord Owen, who has rejected the possibility of holding a referendum on the map of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said that no one has the right to impose a solution. A referendum should not be ruled out if it is used to decide territories that are not demographically altered; in territories that are demographically altered, there should be no referendum until the return of refugees is ensured, Karadzic believes. He added that the Serb side wants to continue talks on the map because the Muslim side has not accepted it either.

He believes that the controversial issue of territories cannot be resolved by ceding corridors to the Serbs either because this would serve as a fresh cause of unrest. "The Serbian Krajina in former Croatia and the Krajina in former Bosnia would become a Nagorno-Karabakh. I cannot see that this would be in the interests of the international community," Karadzic stressed, recalling that the Serb side had reached an agreement with the Croats—that with certain concessions it could acquire a part of the territory of Province 3 rather than a corridor.

Karadzic said that he did not fear military intervention because he could see no reason for anyone wanting to get involved in such a war on any side. What the international community should do, in Karadzic's view, is to help all sides to lay down their arms.

Owen Praises FRY Role

AU3001162193 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 30 (AFP)—Mediators trying to bring peace to Bosnia-Hercegovina on Saturday [30 January] praised the help they had received from the Serbs in Belgrade and urged that they not be punished for the talks' collapse.

Lord Owen, cochairman of the five-month-old Geneva peace conference, also said "it would be reasonable" to ask Belgrade to impose its own sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs such as an end to oil deliveries.

He made his remarks after the mediators announced an impasse in five months of talks on the brutal conflict embroiling Serbs, Croats and Moslems, and sent the dispute to the U.N. Security Council.

Owen said the mediators would ask the Security Council to endorse their plan and impose it if necessary by political, economic or military means.

But he made a pointed plea for Belgrade to be spared further punishment on top of the U.N. sanctions imposed last May on Serbia and Montenegro for their role in the nearly 10-month-old conflict.

"I would not immediately take action against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because they have been helpful in this period of negotiations," Owen told a news conference here.

"They have been urging the Bosnian Serbs to come to a negotiated settlement."

Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic has been credited with providing the talks with their first breakthrough earlier this month by persuading the Bosnian Serbs to drop their demand for their own state.

The mediators hoped that Milosevic, widely blamed by the West as the instigator of the conflict and branded by the United States a war criminal, would continue to keep the heat on the Bosnian Serbs to settle.

The European Community, which Owen represents at the peace talks, had called for the total isolation of the Serbs if the negotiations broke down.

But Owen, who was to fly to Brussels for talks with E.C. officials on Sunday, said, "I would certainly not go straight in with a hammer blow against Belgrade. I would give them an opportunity to put pressure on."

Owen said if the Bosnian Serbs held up the talks further in New York, the United Nations would likely press enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia although "there are, at the moment, very few violations."

But if the Moslem-led government in Sarajevo is the main obstacle, "then a different form of action will have to be considered," Owen said. He did not elaborate.

The mediator expressed hope the Security Council could pressure the Serbs, Moslems and Croats to end the conflict, and again came out strongly against calls for a lifting of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Government.

"We think lifting the arms embargo at this stage would be an absurd decision to take and extremely damaging," Owen said, adding that it would mean new weapons supplies for all the parties.

"It would be literally pouring fuel on the flames."

Karadzic, Boban, Izetbegovic To Hold Talks 3 Feb

LD3001134393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Geneva, 30 Jan (TANJUG)—The leaders of the three national communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president], Mate Boban [Croatian leader in Bosnia], and Alija Izetbegovic [Bosnian president], will travel to New York on Wednesday [3 February] for talks in the UN Security Council to resolve controversial issues concerning the provinces and to sign a peace agreement, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen said at a news conference after today's plenary session of talks on bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Islamic Countries Demand Emergency UNSC Session

LD3001225893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2241 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] New York, Jan 30 (TANJUG)—Islamic countries on Saturday [30 January] demanded an emergency session of the U.N. Security Council [UNSC] to debate the crisis in war-shattered Bosnia-Hercegovina, with the explanation that the Geneva-based international conference had failed to make any significant headway in dealing with it.

The request was made in a letter to the Security Council president sent by Turkey on behalf of the Islamic contact group for Bosnia-Hercegovina, which comprises also Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Senegal.

The letter asked for using force to secure the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina, lifting the arms sales embargo to former Yugoslavia in favour of the Bosnian Moslems, setting up an international war crimes tribunal and using force to increase humanitarian deliveries.

It further asked for giving Bosnian Serbs an ultimatum for placing their heavy weaponry under U.N. supervision and for using force to destroy the weaponry if the ultimatum is not heeded.

The Islamic bloc has long been advocating a Western military intervention on the side of the Bosnian Moslems.

EC Observers Inspect Albanian-Macedonian Border

AU3001145493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Telephone Report by Sami Selishta from Peshkopi]

[Text] A group of EC observers is exerting control on the border line between Albania and Macedonia. These observers are headed by Colonel Ishridan and Major Kelly. On this occasion, they were received at Diber District Council by its chairman Mentor Bumburi.

Mr. Spartak Topollai, chairman of Inter-Border Relations Commission, presented a broad report on the real situation in the Albanian-Macedonian border.

They assessed the efforts of the Albanian side to avoid border incidents of every kind. Then they carried out observations in the border posts of Kala e Dodes and the military units of this area. The observation concluded that despite the very difficult material conditions, the Albanian side has correctly applied the international norms of the border regime. After 15 February, this mission of EC observers will be stationed to Peshkopi and Pogradec to inspect the border between Albania and Macedonia.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Guatemala

AU3101142493 Tirana ATA in English 1107 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 31 (ATA)—The agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Albania and Guatemala at ambassadorial level was signed in New York. In the name of the Albanian Government the agreement was signed by the ambassador, Thanas Shkurti, permanent representative of the Republic of Albania in the UN, and in the name of the Government of Guatemala by the ambassador Rafael Castellanos Carrillo, permanent representative of Guatemala in the UN.

Paper Reports Attempt To Seize Shengjin Ships

AU3001165693 Tirana ATA in English 1310 GMT 30 Jan 93

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Tirana, January 29 (ATA)—[passage omitted] The newspaper KOHA JONE frontpages the report entitled Other Shocking Events in Lezhe. It stresses that on January 27, 28 about 2,500 people, mainly from Shkoder, gathered in the city of Lezhe and headed for the seaport of Shengjin to seize the ships and leave Albania. [passage omitted]

People's Assembly Delegation Returns From Greece

AU3001172393 Tirana ATA in English 0934 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 30 (ATA)—As it is reported, the parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Mr. Pjeter Arbnori, returned home from Greece. Over its stay in Greece the delegation was received at the Greek parliament by the speaker of the House of Deputies, Mr. Osaldaris. In this meeting they discussed on common Albanian-Greek problems whose solution will raise the relations between our two countries at a higher level. Mr. Arbnori thanked the Greek party for helping Albania overcome the present difficulties and for the admission of the Albanian emigrants to Greece. Albania is determined in its way to democracy. The drafting of the human rights chapter of the constitution is being done in full conformity with the Helsinki Charter and in the framework of the CSCE requests, Mr. Arbnori said.

Mr. Osaldaris aired the good will of the Greek party in solving the problems. We wish to maintain order in the movement of the Albanian emigrants. The Greek Government will plan seasonal employment for the Albanian emigrants, but their irregular crossing of the border should be banned, he said.

Regarding the sharp problems of the Balkans, both parties expressed themselves in favour of a peaceful solution and through dialogue. Mr. Arbnori pointed to the need of sending UN troops to Kosovo to prevent bloodshed in that zone.

Mr. Arbnori and the parliamentary delegation he led also met with the Premier of Greece Mr. Mitsotakis. During the meeting they pointed to the need that the joint Albanian-Greek Commission intensify the work for the preparation of a friendship treaty between the two countries. Mr. Arbnori expressed the Albanian party's desire to promote the bilateral economic and cultural relations. During the talk he asked Mr. Mitsotakis to examine the questions of Cams ownership. In his speech the Greek premier presented Greece's possibilities to help Albania in the field of economic investments, infrastructure, tourism, exploitation of natural assets, etc. Regarding the Cam problem, he said that this question will be probably examined, but the same thing should also be done by the Albanian party regarding the assets of the minorities in Albania. Thanking for the reception, Mr. Arbnori said: We, not merely some thousands of Albanians, but three million ones, are for the friendship with the Greek people. These friendly feelings would give a powerful impulse to our relations and would eliminate certain speculations from both parties, which want to destroy everything good attained between the two countries. Speaking of the Law on the Religious Communities to be submitted to the People's Assembly, Mr. Arbnori said it will be a law on the three communities in Albania, based on the CSCE regulations. We will not demand that the minorities say the masses in Albanian, just as we do not demand that the Orthodox Albanians say the masses in Greek.

At the Greek Foreign Ministry the Albanian parliamentary delegation met with the deputy minister, Ms. Cuderu, and senior officials of this ministry. After Ms. Cuderu's speech, who assessed this visit as another step forward in the relations between our two countries, following the succesful visit of the Albanian foreign minister to Greece, Mr. Arbnori said: We need the sincere friendship of Greece, just as Greece, too, needs the friendship of Albania. Mr. Arbnori expressed himself in favour of the acceleration of the work in broadening the economic relations, the creation of an Albanian-Greek bank, which will deal with the income of our emigrants, and the real possibilities of the businessmen to invest in Albania. In the context of building up a contemporary legislation, we have approved laws which create possibilities and facilities to foreign investors. Ms. Cuderu expressed the readiness of the Greek businessmen to invest in Albania, but at the same time she demanded a wider scope of action and better conditions to attract the Greek businessmen. Regarding the Macedonian problem, Mr. Arbnori said: We demand that the Albanians residing there be guaranteed their rights.

During this visit to Greece the delegations met with the chairman of the parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sotiris Papapolitis. The latter expressed satisfaction over the meeting and praised Mr. Arbnori's

view on various questions. He said that the parliamentary diplomacy will assume a special meaning and can stimulate relations between the parties. During the talk, Mr. Arbnori asked the Greek party to make possible the extradition of the Albanian criminals from Greece. He also repeated the demand of the Albanian Government to find and extradite the five policemen who took part in the April 2 massacre in Shkoder and who have fled to Greece.

In his meeting with the chairman of PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement], Mr. Papandreu, Mr. Arbnori guaranteed that the rights of the Greek minorities in Albania will be observed. He said among other things that we will not install Albanian Orthodox priests for the minorities and Greek priests for the Orthodox Albanians.

Court Officials Receive German Court Director

AU3001172593 Tirana ATA in English 0936 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 30 (ATA)—The director of the German Constitution Court, Dr. Carl Xiberlaj, met on January 29 with members of the Constituent Court of Albania. The aim of the meeting was to establish contacts between the Constituent Court of Albania and that of Germany, to exchange of opinions in the field of justice, etc. Mr. Xiberlaj stressed that the developments of law in Albania has been valued in Germany. In the meeting they mentioned also this year's activities where representatives of the Albanian law have also been invited.

Agricultural Enterprises' Privatization Viewed

AU2801141493 Tirana ATA in English 1124 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 28 (ATA)—According to the statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, land privatization in former agricultural cooperatives is now over in 90 percent of the area or 412,000 hectares. So far, 80 percent of the peasant families are owners of land.

By mid January, 80 agricultural enterprises with 51 hectares out of a total of 225, with an area of 160,000 hectares, have been privatized. Some 30 agricultural enterprises have created joint ventures with foreign firms with an area of 36,000 hectares. Twenty-one other agricultural enterprises extending in an area of 13,700 hectares are under way of privatization.

Privatization of agricultural machine, formerly possession of the tractors and motors stations, is also going on. Forty-three hundred tractors of the MTS [Machine and Tractor Stations], out of 5,500 or 78 percent of them have been privatized. In this context, five repairing stations of the former MTS have been privatized as well and 25 others are in the process of privatization.

Government's Decision on High Prices Protested

AU3001193293 Tirana PASQYRA in Albanian 22 Jan 93 p 1

[Protest by the Confederation of the Albanian Trade Unions addressed to President of the Republic Sali Berisha and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania; for publication to Radio-Television and Press, issued in Tirana on 18 January: "An Arbitrary Decision Issued While the Ink of the Law on Trade Unions Is Still Wet"]

[Text] The Confederation of the Albanian Trade Unions has often expressed great worry and has defended its own alternatives concerning the vital problems that distress our employees, such as resumption of work, revival of production, insurance of a minimum standard of living, the course of the social assistance with all problems troubling it, the treatment of pensions and invalids, the salaries of the budgetary sector employees, such as those in health, education, services, etc., insurance of the basket foodstuffs, the arrangement of property in stocks, the restructuring of agricultural enterprises, etc.

We are surprised by the fact that while the ink of the new Law on the Trade Unions, which acknowledges them the right to discuss with the highest state bodies on the labor relations, living conditions, pensions, and social assistance, is still wet, the Council of Ministers has adopted an unprejudiced decision. Under the absurd justification of applying the economic reform, the prices and the tariffs of services are drastically increased, something that unbearably lowers the standard of living of employees.

The Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania categorically protests against this arbitrary and antihuman decision to the detriment of the interests of a large mass of the employees, and especially those of the budgetary sectors, pensions, assistance employees, invalids, etc.

This protest is nothing but a show of support in applying our country's economic reform with as little pain as possible.

We request that the president and the government to be compelled to listen to the voice of the trade union and to expeditiously enter dialogue on present social problems facing our country.

For the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Albania, Chairman Kastriot Muco.

Council Examines Bills, Cooperation Agreements

AU3001154393 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 30 (ATA)—The government meeting of January 29 examined some draft laws, such as that on the protection of medical, oleaginous plants, as a

great national asset of economic, ecological, and scientific values; the draft law on the co-ownership in buildings; a continuation of the Law on the Privatization of the State Buildings; the draft law on urbanism; etc.

The Council of Ministers examined also some draft decisions on the approval of the draft agreements of the Albanian Government with other governments in various sectors of cooperation.

BSPSh Leader Urges Government To Cooperate

AU3001195593 Tirana SINDIKALISTI in Albanian 25 Jan 93 p 1

[Interview with Valer Xheka, chairman of the Albanian Independent Trade Union Managing Commission, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "As Long as the Government Continues To Act Arbitrarily, There Will Always Be Some Negative Reactions...."]

[Text] [SINDIKALISTI] Mr. Xheka, a new operation on prices and the basket carried out by the government was recently added to the economic situation which, even as it was, was very difficult for the majority of employees that the Albanian Independent Trade Union [BSPSh] represents. Considering the fact that the BSPSh is presently the only serious opponent to the government, it would be of interest to know whether the government has given any signal or has asked for any advice from the BSPSh regarding this very important operation?

[Xheka] It is very sad to say, and not only this, that even in this case, as in every of its important steps largely affecting the course of the reform and the living standard of the people, the government viewed the sudden action to be fair, and it considered preliminary consultation with our trade union to be improper. The government has several times undertaken similar actions. We are all conscious now that considering several of these decisions, the government has received a reaction from those strata of the population who really carry the weight of the reform and has experienced the BSPSh determination to defend their interests. Proceeding from constructive positions and subjecting each of its steps to broad and complex scrutiny, the BSPSh has attracted the attention of the government by taking unprejudiced actions. Our remarks have been accepted in principle, but it just as true that our further cooperation has been only for minor problems and not for problems of mayor importance, such as the last undertaking of the government to increase prices and abolish the basket. Lastly, I would say that we have come to the conclusion that the government lacks the goodwill to cooperate. Its most recent actions testify to this.

[SINDIKALISTI] Considering the recently approved laws on strike and collective contract, laws that have many limitations, should we say that our government bodies are sanctioning by law the lack of goodwill to cooperate? What do you think of this?

[Xheka] Throwing a glance at these two laws of vital importance for the trade union, the first conclusion reached is that they are seriously antidemocratic laws. I can say further that if it is managed that these laws are applied in the same way as they were approved, Albania will cease to have a democratic trade union and will have only its phantom, that is, it will have at the same time the phantom of an important instrument of a democratic system we aspire to build. Seen from this angle, the problem goes beyond the simply trade unionist framework.

What I said previously belongs to the level of principle. It is evident that the BSPSh luckily masters both the experience and the power necessary to intervene in improving these laws. We will boycott these laws and will use all legal means, including that of sensitizing international bodies, so that these laws be reexamined.

Despite this, we have never stopped our cooperation of goodwill with the government. This has not been done to find out the weaknesses of the government and of its individuals in the main administration. Our constructiveness has been and is still determined by the interest of the country's future, which would be gravely endangered by eventual social conflicts. We have made every effort to avoid every unexpected action. It should be said that the president promised us that these laws would be reexamined. However, it should be further stated that these promises are not being applied. We have demanded a meeting with the government on this problem. This action again confirms our constructive and mature stance to the extent that democracy, as an institution, and the interests of the employees we represent will not be infringed upon.

[SINDIKALISTI] In one way or another, sooner or later, our public has been informed about several recent strikes. What is your opinion about the strike phenomenon?

[Xheka] Whatever else it may be, the strike stands in any case as a denominator of the legitimate right of the employees in a democratic society. In the present situation and in the Albanian reality, it is natural that the strike, both as a phenomenon and as an aim in itself, spontaneously gains its own specifics. Considering our reality, no one can say that strikes are desirable. Their avoidance as the last resort is done with bilateral understanding and never through law and violence. The BSPSh has often publicly declared that it is conscious of being against strikes with tendentious objections and unfulfillable demands, which often hide political pretensions. However, it should known that the understanding between the parties, if I can say so, does not always depend on the BSPSh. A constructive stance by the government is necessary in this regard. Our experience has shown that in many cases of aggravation to the point of a strike, the cause has been the provocative stance by the administration, proceeding from the tiniest links of the economy system with which we are directly connected. In the long run, it is the duty of the highest

administration to perfect the legislation that would ensure the procedure of the work with no serious discords. This legislation lacks many elements, and this is not a good premise. Thus, there is often nothing left for the trade union to do but to defend itself by a strike, which as I stressed, is its legitimate means....

Political Parties Hold Meetings, Elect Officers

AU3101143193 Tirana ATA in English 1116 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 31 (ATA)—On January 31, the branch of the People's Party for Tirana organized a meeting in the seat of this party on occasion of the 73d anniversary of the Congress of Lushnja. Present was also the chairman of this party, Bashkim Driza who read a paper. He said that initiaoor of that congress was the Albanian People's Party whose members were the patriots of that time such as Suljeman Delvina, Hasan Prishoina, Fan Noli, Bajram Curri, Ahmet Zogu, Bahri Omari and others.

The National Council of the Party "The Movement of Legality in Albania" convened on January 30 in Tirana to take decisions on the reorganization of the party. The participants held a minute silence in honour of the martyrs of this party and the martyrs who laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

At the end, Prof. Nderim Kupi was unanimously elected chairman of the party. Ibrahim Sokoli was elected chairman of honour.

Tirana Papers Report Hoxha, Buxheli Verdicts

AU2901205793 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 28 Jan 93

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpt] Tirana, January 28 (ATA)—[passage omitted] The newspapers RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE and ZERI I POPULLIT writes on the final procedure of the trial of Hoxha and Buxheli to declare the decision. Hoxha was sentenced to nine years imprisonment and Buxheli to four years imprisonment. [passage omitted]

Trial of Nine Ballsh Strikers Starts in Fier

AU3001192993 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Jan 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Trial Against Ballsh Trade Unionists Started"]

[Text] The trial against nine trade unionists, former leaders of the strike at the Ballsh Oil Combine, started at one of the halls in Fier District Court at 1000 yesterday. They are accused of violating Article 7 of Law No. 7,458, dated 22 January 1991, on the Right of Strike. If this criminal act is verified, on the basis of law, the defendants can be sentenced to a penalty of 1,000 leks, including imprisonment for three months. After five hours of trial sessions, Ilirian Celibashi, chairman of the judicial body, adjourned the trial, which is to be continued at 0900 on Tuesday [26 January]. We will inform you in detail on the trial proceedings in the next issues.

Use of Force To Stop Serbian Convoys Viewed

AU0102093693 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Nikolay Golemanov: "Behind 'Bihac' Affair...."]

[Text] The United States asked Bulgaria and Romania to use "all the necessary means" to enforce the UN embargo against Serbia. So far, Bulgaria has done everything possible within prudence, international law, and its interest regarding anything related to the oil traffic on the Danube River. Seldom has the gap between the possible and the necessary been so dangerous.

First, it is not clear whether Bulgaria must stop the vessels by force, even if it possesses that force. If it must play the role of a policeman on the Danube River, then it has the right to ask why no one else assumes that role. With its speed of 10 km/h, "Bihac" was quicker than the reaction of the UN Sanctions Committee, which was informed about the developments.

Apparently a simple matter—using force to stop the Serbian convoys—is related to great political, military, and ecological risks. In this context, it makes no difference whether Sofia would assume responsibility for polluting the Danube River with oil, initiating an armed conflict with Serbia, or prompting the internationalization of the Yugoslav crisis.

What is happening in the west of Bulgaria is not a war between the bad guys—whom the world wants to stop—and the good guys. The situation there contains the embryo of a regional war. It would be stupid to underestimate the complexity and rapid developments of the situation there.

The disappointment expressed by the fact that "Bihac" was not stopped by all means was probably born in the depth of the soul and, certainly, in the platitude of the thought. Naivete and adventurism are often appealing qualities where private affairs are concerned. However, in politics such qualities represent a crime.

U.S. Demand for Force Rejected

AU0102095793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 29 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Atanas Matev: "On Edge of Conflict"]

[Text] Not from its own wrongdoing but from its misfortune Bulgaria is on the brink of a Balkan conflict. The slightest move in the wrong direction could involve our country in such a conflict.

Implementing the U.S. demand that Bulgaria and Romania use force to enforce the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro on the Danube would mean more than a step in the wrong direction.

This demand is very strange. First of all, Washington must know that Bulgaria's or Romania's use of force against Serbian vessels would expand the Yugoslav conflict and give it all-Balkan dimensions. Is the U.S. policy in the Balkans not aimed against such a development?

Second, the United States must know what it would mean to use force against Serbia and Montenegro. Therefore, despite its great military capability, it ponders already for the 10th time whether force should be used to resolve the Yugoslav conflict. The same applies to NATO and its military capability. Then why are Bulgaria and Romania being urged to use force?

Finally, the United States knows very well where the oil carried by the Serbian vessels is being loaded—at the Ukrainian port of Reni. Should not Washington admonish Kiev for not observing the embargo and respond to the Ukrainian prime minister, who claims with unceasing naivete that perhaps there is something like this, but he does not know anything, and the matter should be investigated?

One way or another, Bulgaria is on the brink of a terrible conflict.

Officials, Romanian Envoy Discuss Serbian Convoys

AU2901200993 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 92

[Text] Bulgarian diplomatic circles and all other competent state organs are persisting in their efforts to find a solution to the difficult situation resulting from the passage of Serbian vessels carrying oil products through the Bulgarian-Romanian water territories on the Danube River, which represents a violation of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

Two meetings with Romanian Ambassador Alexandru Petrescu were held at the Sofia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at which an agreement was reached on cooperation between the two countries' border control organs in Vidin and Calafat against the Serbian violator vessels. The necessity of joint action and permanent coordinating actions between the relevant border and customs authorities and the national navigation inspectorates on the Danube River was confirmed.

The Bulgarian permanent mission at the United Nations submitted an official letter to the UN Sanctions Committee containing updated facts on the Bulgarian Government's measures against the Serbian vessels that continue to violate the sanctions. The letter also contains information supplied by the Bulgarian border troops and the State Navigation Inspectorate from 27 January to present.

Serbian Convoy Leaves Territorial Waters

AU3101185093 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Vidin, January 31 (BTA)—The last two Serbian tugboats, Kaymakcalan and Kumanovo, left Bulgarian

territorial waters yesterday at about 3 p.m. local time, BTA learned from the officer on duty of the National Border Guard Service. Commenting on yesterday's information that the barges had not been noticed to pass Lom, Ivan Yordanov of the State Shipping Inspectorate in Lom said the Inspectorate had not been able to register the barges' passage with the available equipment.

Berov on Reaction To Spread of Yugoslav Conflict

AU3101181693 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 31 Jan 93

["Premier Berov: In Case of Conflict in Kosovo or Macedonia, Bulgaria's Reaction Will Depend on Serbia's and Greece's Conduct"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, who is also acting foreign minister, was interviewed on the phone by the host of the Nedelya 150 programme on national radio today. He answered questions about Bulgaria's position on the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Commenting on reminders by international organizations that Bulgaria should use even force, if necessary, to stop Serbian oil barges on the Danube, Prime Minister Berov repeatedly stated that Bulgaria cannot risk the environmental safety of the river. Asked under what circumstances a Bulgarian soldier would open fire on the barges, Lyuben Berov said: "A Bulgarian soldier will not open fire on anyone as long as there is no direct attack on Bulgaria or Bulgarians."

The host, popular Bulgarian journalist Miko Petrov, sharply criticized the United Nations and the great powers but the prime minister made no comment.

Said Miko Petrov: "The United Nations fights for humanitarian causes only when it counts on an easy victory, or so it seems, because it is easy to be brave in Somalia, I doubt if it is so in Serbia. It cannot be denied, however, that the great powers called on Bulgaria in a strongly decisive tone to take all measures they themselves failed to take, to cut off the umbilical cord between Ukraine and Serbia. Hardly anyone sees this country as a great power, I'd rather say that someone wants us to trigger off a new Balkan war, which would plunge us into a new national catastrophe." After this statement, Miko Petrov asked Prof. Berov whether he shared these fears. Said Lyuben Berov: "Undoubtedly, pulling the trigger may be a signal for a new Balkan war. Water has always flowed and will flow down the line of least resistance, downhill, this is inevitable, the point is that sometimes we (Bulgaria) find ourselves at the lowest point of the hill."

Asked how Bulgaria will react in case the war in the former Yugoslavia spreads into Kosovo and Macedonia, Prime Minister Berov said it would depend on the conduct of Serbia and Greece. Bulgaria cannot be an isolated factor in the Balkans and our conduct depends on our neighbours' conduct, Mr. Berov said.

Prime Minister Berov said the government's foreign policy concept, which is part of the new cabinet's declaration of intent, would be published in the press soon.

Hungarian Embassy Rejects Protest Against Customs

AU2901185693 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—The allegations, which have appeared in the Bulgarian press of late, that several So Mat catamarans were illegally detained in Hungary are not true, it is said in a press release of the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia received at BTA.

All or part of the cargo which the vessels carry is embargoed, the press release says. It is reminded that according to UN Security Council Resolution 787 such cargo can be transported via the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, including the Danube, only with the permit for passage in transit issued by the UN Sanctions Committee. As the vessels in question did not have such permits, it was only natural for the Hungarian customs authorities to detain them, the press release goes. The local representatives of the UN Sanctions Committee approved Hungary's decision, having visited the customs post in Mohacs, the representatives of the Bulgarian Embassy and of the So Mat Shipping Company in Hungary admitted that the Hungarian customs authorities had legal ground to take such an action, the press release says.

Black Sea Political Bloc Seen as Premature

AU2901185493 Sofia BTA in English 1618 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Today the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Committee and M.P.'s [members of parliament] of the National Security Committee considered Turkey's initiative to set up a parliamentary assembly of the eleven countries in the Black Sea region which last year signed an agreement on economic cooperation.

The position of the Foreign Policy Committee, coordinated with the National Security Committee, is that it is too early for a political orientation of the Black Sea countries' cooperation, that is why Bulgaria will not take part in the preliminary working meeting which is to lay the foundations of the Black Sea Parliamentary Assembly, Mrs. Elena Poptodorova, a member of the Foreign Policy Committee, told journalists today. Her statement was later confirmed by National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov. The M.P.'s support the idea of a closer economic and cultural cooperation among the Black Sea countries before proceeding with

political interaction based on the rules of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, Mrs. Poptodorova said.

Bulgaria stands for an expansion of bilateral relations with the Black Sea countries on all levels, especially with Turkey, was the opinion which all M.P.'s shared.

Berov Meets CSCE Macedonia Mission Leader

AU3001144493 Sofia BTA in English 2131 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov received Mr. William Whitman, leader of the CSCE observer mission in Macedonia, the Council of Ministers' Press Service reported.

Macedonia's fate depends on its neighbours, and as an ethnicity-based conflict could be easily staged, Mr. Whitman's role should consist in preventing such conflicts, Prof. Berov stressed. We have no intention to either invade Macedonia or partition it in three or four, although there is a large Bulgarian population there, the prime minister said. In his opinion, such a partition is very dangerous as it would sparkle a conflict among the countries concerned.

Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Tsanev had a meeting with Mr. William Whitman at the Foreign Ministry today. The two sides discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia in general and the importance of preventive diplomacy in averting the danger of an expansion of the conflict.

Zhelev Returns From Davos Economic Forum

AU0102084693 Sofia BTA in English 2100 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—"The best news from Davos is that Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, said the bank will give Bulgaria 60 million dollars in grant aid for the maintenance of the nuclear power plant in Kozloduy," President Zhelyu Zhelev told the press upon his return from Davos this evening. Dr. Zhelev met with heads of state and government leaders in Davos. He said he was pleased with the progress in negotiations with EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. President Zhelev and President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine reached an agreement for coal supplies to Bulgaria for the next five years.

At the Davos forum President Zhelev said Bulgaria was ready to use all necessary means, together with Romania, to stop the Serbian oil barges on the Danube, only on condition that the UN Sanctions Committee gives it an express mandate. Answering a question, President Zhelev said his views on the issue did not differ in principle from Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's views.

Delegation Returns From Europe Trade Talks

AU2901184693 Sofia BTA in English 1621 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—"The negotiations made progress, we came to the hard part of the talks but several new clauses of the main body of the agreement text were nevertheless coordinated. The most important of them concerns the procedures for the application of protectionist measures," Deputy Trade Minister Stanislav Daskalov told the press today on his return from the second round of talks with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), held in Geneva between January 25 and 28. According to Mr. Daskalov, who is chief Bulgarian negotiator for the agreement with EFTA, Bulgaria gets a similar treatment as Poland on the protectionist measures procedure.

Bulgaria started negotiations with EFTA last year. Back at the first round in late November 1992, the parties agreed on most of the provisions in the free trade pact. Under the draft, Bulgarian exports to the EFTA markets would be fully liberalized upon the entry of the agreement into force with the exception of certain textiles and farm products.

Negotiations on trade concessions started in substance at the second round. There are difficulties, but reciprocal compromise took shape on a number of matters, Mr. Daskalov said. He said that both parties want the talks to end as soon as possible, and the agreement may be initialed as early as at the next round, "but this will take concessions from both parties."

The second round included bilateral negotiations on farm products with all EFTA member countries. Mr. Daskalov said some of the countries were willing to make limited unilateral concessions to Bulgaria. The hardest to negotiate with were the delegations of Switzerland and Austria, which are key markets of Bulgarian farm products.

The next round of talks will be held in Geneva at the end of February.

Referendum on Resumption of Belene Project Proposed

AU2901133893 Sofia BTA in English 2044 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—In an address to the president, parliament and the government, the local authorities in the Danubian town of Svishtov insist on stopping the construction of a nuclear power plant [N-plant] at Belene (near Svishtov), making a decision for an efficient use of the site and on auditing the construction site. The town authorities have decided to hold a local referendum on March 20 to find out whether the population would agree or not with the construction of an N-plant at Belene—the second one in this country.

The N-plant construction was stopped three years ago at the insistance of the local population and environmentalist organizations.

The construction of the Belene N-plant began in 1985. A parliamentary commission was set up at the beginning of 1990 to study the problem and the construction was stopped awaiting the commission to come out with a decision. Later on it was decided to construct a steam power station on the site, but it was not proceeded with the realization of the project. There have been some publications in the press of late saying that the N-plant construction will go on.

The question of resuming the construction of the N-plant has been posed by nobody and nowhere, Nikita Shervashidze, director general of Energoproekt, categorically stated yesterday. According to him, probably a new environmental analysis will be made by experts, as the older one was made incompetently. In the coming years Bulgaria will need new, 2-3,000 megawatt capacities. That is why it is considered which variant of using the construction site would be economically most feasible. Mr. Shervashidze suggested to set up a fund, jointly with the Power Engineering Committee, for conducting a public opinion poll. However, the poll should not be reestricted to the Svishtov area, it should cover the whole country, he said.

Svishtov Citizens Plan Protest

AU0102103493 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 23 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by Ognyan Stoenelov: "Svishtov Demands Referendum on Belene Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Svishtov must decide by a referendum whether the Belene nuclear power plant should be constructed, Plamen Mitev, chairman of the Svishtov Municipal Council, told 24 CHASA on 22 January. According to him, however, the citizens are prepared to begin other forms of protest.

The Svishtov citizens would demand the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev, whose name is connected with the eventual construction of the Belene nuclear power plant.

A scientific conference of nuclear experts will take place in Svishtov in February. The participants will assess whether a second nuclear power plant is necessary. However, Mr. Minev did not specify who the participants will be.

Dyanko Dobrev, head of the administrative board of the National Electricity Company, said that the company is prepared to discuss the matter with the citizens of Svishtov through figures and facts, rather than through emotions and political arguments. For example, the radioactivity of the waste of the Svishtov thermoelectric power plant is about 40 milliroentgen, while at the Kozloduy nuclear power plant it is only 10, he says. In addition, the citizens of Belene have nothing against constructing the nuclear power plant in their municipality.

The agrarians would be affected most by the eventual construction of the Belene nuclear power plant. According to Mr. Ivan Vurbanov, member of the Committee on the Ecological-Economic Development of Svishtov Region, says that no one would want to purchase their production.

The Svishtov branch of the Union of Democratic Forces addressed the population on the local radio and urged them to support a protest declaration against resuming the construction of the nuclear power plant. It is expected that the reaction of other political forces to the proposal of the deputy prime minister will also be negative.

Strikes, live chains, and rallies could once again engulf Svishtov, participants in the demonstrations of two years ago claim. At that time, the protests of the local population caused the construction of the Belene nuclear power plant to be put on hold.

Parties Hold Meetings, Adopt Declarations

AU3001205893 Sofia BTA in English 1944 GMT 30 Jan 93

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, January 30 (BTA)—A parliamentary delegation led by National Assembly chairman Aleksandur Yordanov left for Strasbourg today to attend the 44th session of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. Mr. Yordanov will visit Bonn and will be received by German President Richard von Weizsaecker.

The German Government has sent more customs officers to the team which arrived in Bulgaria last October to control the enforcement of the UN trade embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, EXPRESS of Cologne says today.

An extended meeting of the leadership of the Conservative Ecological Party today decided to start preparations for early elections. Former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), is a member of the party. According to the party's chairman, Khristo Biserov, a cabinet crisis will provoke a parliamentary crisis.

The leadership of the Bulgarian Democratic Forum [BDF] supported today the decision of the SDS top leadership to stand in opposition to the cabinet headed by Lyuben Berov. The BDF called for an SDS political conference to map out the coalition's strategy.

The Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP) is holding municipal conferences in several towns. BSP

leader Zhan Videnov attended the conference in Blagoevgrad (southwestern Bulgaria) today. At the BSP conference in Burgas, Chavdar Kyuranov, leader of the Social Democracy Alliance, a radical trend in the BSP, said the party should support the initiatives of the Lyuben Berov cabinet. The municipal conference in Silistra (northeastern Bulgaria) has adopted a declaration to the government in connection with the violation of the UN sanctions by Serbian barge trains. It expresses concern over the delicate situation, in which Bulgaria should remain neutral and guarantee peace with its neighbours.

The Alternative Social Liberal Party (ASP), recently expelled from the SDS, held a national conference in Khaskovo (southern Bulgaria) today. Two MP's of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and freedoms attended the conference. ASP leader Nikolay Vasilev said jurists in the party are considering an appeal against the "illegitimate decisions" of the leadership and the parliamentary group of the SDS. Mr. Vasilev said the ASP would not give unqualified support to the government.

The National Council of the extraparliamentary Green Party today began discussing a proposal to join the Bulgarian Democratic Centre. The political situation, the Greens' strategy and organization problems will be discussed tomorrow.

The Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party, led by Milan Drenchev, today adopted a resolution for its return to the SDS. The Agrarians led by Drenchev left the SDS before the 1991 parliamentary elections, after which they split. Part of them remained affiliated to the SDS, while others, led by Anastasiya Mozer, restored the United Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The idea to restore the constitutional monarchy in Bulgaria is drawing increasing support, representatives of the Kingdom of Bulgaria Federation told a press conference today. The federation held its first national conference today. [passage omitted]

Arms Trade Panel Discusses Exports, Licenses

AU3001144193 Sofia BTA in English 2134 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—The Government Commission on the Control of the Production of and Trade in Armaments and Military Supplies met at the Council of Ministers today, the Council of Ministers' Press Service informed. The commission considered some problems of the export of military supplies to some countries which had made attractive bids. Problems of the import of equipment and materials for satisfying the requirement of Bulgarian military production were also discussed. The problem of issuing licences or extending the licences for trade in military products was settled.

Minister Says Inflation Forecast 'Optimistic'

AU0102115193 Sofia BTA in English 1112 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 1 (BTA)—The 1993 budget bill, drafted by Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet which was elected late last year, projects a 56 percent inflation rate. In an extensive interview for the 24 CHASA daily, Mr. Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister in charge of the economy and minister of trade, admits that a 56 percent inflation is a rather optimistic projection. "But in drafting the budget bill and incomes policy, the government should proceed from a base figure," he said. During the January talks with IMF representatives, the sides agreed on an inflation rate varying between 55 and 60 percent and the government chose 56 percent. "The 1993 inflation rate will probably be higher," Mr. Karabashev claims but declines to specify how much higher. A budget deficit of some 20,000 million leva was discussed with the IMF officials. Its exact amount, however, will be known once the 1993 budget bill is finalized.

The cabinet headed by Prof. Lyuben Berov aspires to halt the decline in production. Mr. Valentin Karabashev believes that privatization is the major instrument to do so. It is evident in the interview that the government will prioritize measures to guarantee the restoration of markets which Bulgaria has lost over the last couple of years and measures connected with the structural adjustment of production.

Deputy Prime Minister Karabashev tells the 24 CHASA that for the time being he is inclined to support the strategy intended to expand the access to loans rather than differentiate the lending terms. But he admits that his stand on this matter is not absolutely firm.

Mr. Karabashev admits in his interview that the new cabinet has yet to finalize its position on the institutional side of Bulgaria's foreign debt negotiations. He believes that the existing structure whereby the Finance Ministry is the chief negotiator and the Council of Ministers authorizes a delegation to lead the talks might be preserved. Mr. Valentin Karabashev, however, thinks there is a possibility that the non-departmental Debt Servicing Commission, which existed in early 1992, might be restored.

First Clinton Policy Mistakes, Problems Viewed

AU2901152293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 93 p 30

[Commentary by Kveta Buschova: "Bill Clinton's First Tests"]

[Excerpts] While the majority of his immediate predecessors could "enjoy" the relative calm and traditional 100-day "honeymoon" period after their inauguration and, at the same time, could use the overt expectations of their foreign partners and opponents carefully to prepare their future strategy, Bill Clinton has been virtually forced from his first moment in office to master—in a statesmanlike manner—the pitfalls of reality. This applies both at home and abroad.

Even before entering the White House, in his inauguration address he did confirm his reputation as an excellent orator and again assured Americans that he will bring the much-coveted changes. Clinton modified some of his preelection ideas and promises and, moreover, was forced to face his first definite problems. What we have in mind here is that he has already abandoned his resolution to reduce the federal budget deficit by half within four years, that he has canceled his support program for American agriculture, and that he has given in to doubts about his preelection promise to reduce taxes for middle-class Americans.

Although Clinton justifies all these things by maintaining that the economic forecasts made by Congress—forecasts he was guided by—were exaggerated, this was generally known last summer and Clinton's economic team should have anticipated the situation.

If we add to this the "scandal" of Zoe Baird's nomination for the important post of attorney general [passage omitted] and the controversial appointment of the none too "clean" Ronald Brown as commercial secretary, it is obvious that Clinton also has a lot to put right in the domestic "arena," which should be his domain.

However, the new U.S. President has even more problems to contend with on the foreign front. Without wanting to accuse George Bush of doing so deliberately, the fact is he has "dropped" Bill Clinton into a fine "mess" by his final moves against Iraq. He did this in several respects and contexts.

On the one hand, there is Iraq and Saddam Hussayn. Roughly a week before his inauguration, Clinton gave an interview to THE NEW YORK TIMES in which he admitted his willingness to improve relations with Baghdad if Hussayn changes his behavior and complies with all the UN resolutions (which aroused considerable resentment in the United States). Soon afterwards, however, and under the pressure of events, he had to emphasize repeatedly that the United States' policy toward Iraq will not change in the least. In order to confirm what he said, the United States is continuing its military activity against the Baghdad regime. Nevertheless, Saddam remains at the helm and is especially dangerous for Clinton, because he may trigger another crisis at any time.

Moreover, the go-ahead manner of the recent U.S. action against Iraq is inevitably being compared throughout the world to the United States' attitude toward the expulsion of more than 400 Palestinians and especially to the situation in the former Yugoslavia. During the election campaign—and in the postelection period—Clinton was pushing for a more radical (anti-Serb) solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Recently, however, he has been cautioned both by George Bush and certain of the United States' allies. (The British in particular have no intention of losing their citizens' lives in a war in the Balkans.) At the same time, however, the situation in the former Yugoslavia is a challenge that even the United States cannot ignore for long...

If we add to this other global regions and crises—including Russia and the other (first and foremost, nuclear) successors of the USSR, China, Haiti, and U.S. economic relations with the EC and Japan, which should not remain without a swift response from Washington, then the new man in the White House has a great deal on his shoulders right from the beginning.

Bill Clinton is, however, a young and—apparently—relatively adept politician, amenable to changes and capable of seizing his opportunities at the right moment and of winning over the masses to his side. That is to say, there is the chance that he will quickly find his feet in this situation and that he will withstand the tests he has been undergoing since the start of his presidency.

Kocarnik To Continue Customs Talks With Slovaks

AU2901181293 Prague CTK in English 2222 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)— Czech Finance Minister and Deputy Premier Ivan Kocarnik today told CTK that he will continue talks with Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth on customs posts to be established on the Czech-Slovak border.

He said he will ask Toth about the reasons for Tuesday's [26 January] rejection by the Slovak Government of draft agreements on customs posts and on the simplification of procedures at road and railway border crossings between the two republics. He said he believes the rejection is a certain misunderstanding and that agreement will be reached.

Under current legislation customs authorities are responsible for collecting the value-added tax (VAT) and consumer tax imposed on imported and exported goods, Kocarnik said. They ought to fulfill this duty and that is why we must establish some posts on the border. Whether or not we will call them customs posts is another question, he added.

Macedonian Plane With False Passports Turned Back

LD2901134693 Prague CTK in English 1251 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 29 (CTK)—A Macedonian as plane from Skopje with 157 passengers from the Kosovo autonomous region aboard was returned back to Skopje from Prague's Ruzyne Airport on Thursday [28 January] afternoon, CTK was informed by the Czech police press department today.

Data in the passports of most passengers were unlawfully altered and signatures of the passport holders were missing. Many passports carried stamps from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, or Bulgaria, labelling their owners as undesired on and expelled from the territory of those countries.

Republicans' Charges Against Havel Refuted

AU2901215093 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)—Republican Party deputies, who called presidential candidate Vaclav Havel an agent of the former secret police in parliamentary debate preceding the presidential elections Tuesday [26 January], used disinformation drawn from State Police (StB) documents.

The chairman and four members of the Independent Commission for Investigating the Appeals of Accused Collaborators emphatically protested the deputies' actions in a statement obtained by CTK today.

The commission unequivocally proved that Vaclav Havel was never a conscious collaborator with the StB, but was considered a so-called hostile person, reads the statement, which is signed by Commission Chairman Jaroslav Basta and four other commission members.

The actions of the Republican deputies, especially Milan Loukota and Oldrich Vrcha, were an expression of right-wing nihilism, the commission statement says.

The independent commission, which was established to verify facts on the basis of the screening law, was ruled unnecessary by the Czechoslovak Constitutional Court in November 1992 and is currently finishing its duties. The screening law, passed in October 1991, bars former StB agents, former People's Militia members (a paramilitary Communist Party force), and leading communist officials from holding public office until 1996.

Chamber Opens Presidential Election Debate

AU2901181393 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 26 (CTK)—The afternoon session of the Chamber of Deputies, which is discussing the election of the first Czech president, was marked by disputes about which journalists would remain in the hall of the Czech parliament.

After most photographers left the hall at the request of Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde, Deputy Jan Vik from the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party called for a 20-minute break in the meeting, during which a decision on which journalists would be allowed to stay in the hall would be made.

The Chamber rejected his proposal as well as a suggestion by his party colleague Jan Soler that presidential candidates be given a chance to address the Chamber.

Meanwhile, the bodyguards of Republican Party Leader Miroslav Sladek, a guest at today's session, attacked a photographer in the men's room of the parliament building, Tomas Fejfar from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), an eyewitness to the scene, told CTK.

Fejfar said a reporter entered the room after Sladek and only aimed his camera at him, but did not photograph him. In spite of that, Sladek's bodyguards assaulted him in an attempt to take the film from him, Fejfar said. He added that he himself became the target of an attack by Sladek's bodyguards as he wanted to help the reporter and thus became himself involved in the scuffle.

Shortly before the parliament session began, several dozen people gathered in front of the parliament building to express support for the individual presidential candidates.

Largest was the crowd supporting Vaclav Havel and just opposite them were Sladek's fans.

In the electoral debate, continuing before a half-empty hall, the floor was taken by members of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) whose speeches were packed with insults against Havel.

Deputy Jiri Soler said: I will not vote for Havel for about the same reasons I would not vote for Adolf Eichmann. (Eichman was a Nazi war criminal captured by Israel and later executed.)

Other speakers from the same party accused Havel of having destroyed the state, of selling out the republic to the Germans, of having been an agent of the disbanded StB secret police and of having been in league with the communists in November 1989 in order to deceive the nation.

Havel, Klaus on President-Cabinet 'Communication'

AU2901215293 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel will attend the Czech cabinet's meeting on February 10, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today after the government coalition met with the new head of state.

Klaus said that at today's meeting Havel and representatives of the coalition discussed the tangible tasks which are facing them.

The coalition is made up of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA).

The KDU-CSL and ODA chairmen, Josef Lux and Jan Kalvoda, said that also discussed were forms of communication between the president and the government.

Press Sees Presidential Election as Undignified

AU3001140393 Prague CTK in English 0848 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)— Commenting on Tuesday's [26 January] election of the first Czech president, the Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINY today says that it was not a dignified act of electing the head of state, but a farce which was moreover played by a group of ham actors of the lowest quality. The paper says that obstruction from deputies of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) was expected, but what was surprising was the unpreparedness of the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, Milan Uhde, and his helplessness in coping with the situation. The circumstances of the undignified presidential election not only raise the question of whether this method did not suit also other parties besides the Republicans, but they also place an important task before the Chamber of Deputies—to defend democracy and its dignity, the paper says.

RUDE PRAVO calls the parliamentary debate preceding the presidential election a "panoptical exhibition." It says that the SPR-RSC deputies turned the Chamber of Deputies into a party meeting like something they would hold on the street. There was no sign of seriousness, decency or any real analysis in the speeches of the Republicans. It was bare demagogy, clearly aimed at delaying and discrediting the election, while it was quite obvious beforehand that the SPR-RSC Chairman (Miroslav) Sladek did not have the slightest chance to succeed (as one of the presidential candidates—ed.), the paper says.

MLADA FRONTA DNES calls the speeches by SPR-RSC deputies a dangerous exhibition aimed at delaying and discrediting the act of election. It says that the meanness of their performance convincingly exposed the intellectual standard of the deputies from the SPR-RSC, which could be seen by everybody watching Tuesday's live TV broadcast from the Chamber of Deputies.

The farmers' daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY says it is good that Vaclav Havel has been elected president because he devoted a great part of his life to absolutely nonpragmatic effort to assert law in the lives of his fellow citizens. The paper notes that pragmatism can be seen everywhere around us—in the misty contours of corruption scandals, in the concept of law applied by Czech General Prosecutor Jiri Setina (in relation to excessive migration in some parts of the Czech Republic—ed.), and in the standards of the legal precepts of some local council chairmen, which sometimes resemble the revolutionary legal precepts and conscience of the prosecutors of the 1950's, the paper says.

MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that there was nothing unexpected in the nonelection of a Slovak president, as each party had its own candidate and had to vote for him. There are several good reasons to believe that the whole first double-round of voting will be unsuccessful, as the candidate nominated by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Roman Kovac, cannot count on votes from deputies of the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), or the Hungarian parties, the paper says.

It adds that a different situation will arise in the second double-round of voting in which former federal parliament chairman Michal Kovac (HZDS) is expected to run for the Slovak presidency. Kovac not only has many sympathizers in the HZDS, but he is also acceptable to many members of the KDH. The fact that Kovac is not among the favorites of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar may also play an important role. The Slovak president does not enjoy many formal powers, but if he wins the support of political parties he will cease to be powerless, the paper says. Vladimir Meciar has angered his political partners several times already, and this may come back as a boomerang in the presidential election, the paper concludes. [passage omitted]

Press Continues Election Comments

AU3001140493 Prague CTK in English 0852 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 28 (CTK)— Tuesday's [26 January] election of the Czech president remains in the center of attention of today's Czech dailies.

MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that paradoxically it could have been the flow of gall from (Miroslav) Sladek's Republicans that contributed to the election of the government coalition's joint presidential candidate already in the first round of election. Their 'performance' was, however, also a warning memento that part of citizens by their votes elevated to the parliament strange creatures which scandalize a democrat while citing from aged documents of former (communist-controlled) Interior Ministry, the paper says. Noting that Sladek's sympathizers are still merely a marginal extremist organization, the paper says that similar extremist cohorts might possibly win stronger social influence only in case of accumulated social tension, economic decline, nationalist rage—all that accompanied by an unsolvable parliamentary crisis. However, it cannot be denied that the germs of these problems have been inherited by the new (Czech) Republic together with the limping constitutional system with a prescribed

but unfilled Senate, the paper says, calling for its speedy filling. Only then will it be possible to speak about a firm constitutional system. Only then will it be possible to listen without trembling to the threatening howling that accompanied the election of the first Czech president, the paper writes.

TELEGRAF also sees the behavior of Sladek's Republicans as one of the reasons why Vaclav Havel succeeded already in the first round of the presidential election. Some deputies from both the government coalition and the opposition, who in the morning were not sure whether or not to elect Havel, got a mighty impulse for a final decision from Sladek's followers, the paper says. Another thing that helped Havel's election was the fact that among the three candidates nominated he was the only one with the prospect of success. The main reason for this was not that he had been nominated by the government coalition, which has a close majority in the parliament, but the unambiguous image of the other two candidates (Miroslav Sladek from the Assembly for the Republic—Czechoslovak Republican Party, SPR-RSC, and Marie Stiborova from the Left Bloc) who could not endanger Havel no matter what mistakes he has made in the past few years, the paper says.

In another commentary the daily writes that by having been elected by less than three-fifths of deputies, Havel has finally stepped down from the heavenly pedestal, to which he was set three years ago, back among ordinary people who can be criticized, defended and whose deeds may be weighed up. It is also Havel himself who will certainly benefit from such an approach more than from glowing eyes full of uncritical admiration, the paper says.

The same paper notes that everybody has as yet been criticizing only the form of the Republicans' addresses in the parliament, but no official stand has as yet been heard on their content. None of the deputies from the government coalition and those who supported Vaclav Havel's election has yet uprooted those dubious allegations. Serious accusations such as those heard from the Chamber of Deputies will not disappear simply by not being spoken about, the paper says.

RUDE PRAVO writes that Vaclav Havel wants to be an inconspicuous figure in the background but at the same time faces a few tasks which he promised to explain to the whole public. Taking into view the fact that he has publicly declared his independence of all who have elected him, he should made his views known. In such a case it will be obviously very difficult for him to remain an inconspicuous president, the paper says. [passage omitted]

Foreign Leaders Will Support Havel at Election

AU2901173393 Prague CTK in English 1122 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bonn, Germany Jan 27 (CTK correspondent)—German President Richard von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl congratulated Vaclav Havel via telegram on his election as president of the Czech Republic and praised his contributions to improving Czech-German relations.

We regard your dedication to the maintenance of human rights, justice, and tolerance with the highest respect, Weizsaecker wrote. You have contributed decisively to the development of the sometimes difficult, but nevertheless close relations of our nations in the spirit of good neighborliness, he added.

With you there ascends to the head of the Czech state, Kohl wrote, a personality who has always and very faithfully advanced reconciliation and equal rights between Germans and Czechs. Kohl added that he looks forward to continued personal contact with Havel, and assured him that the Federal Republic of Germany will support the Czech Republic with all its power on its path to Europe.

Brussels/Vienna/Bucharest/Moscow Jan 27 (CTK)—Telegrams continued to arrive from European capitals today congratulating Vaclav Havel on his election yesterday as the Czech Republic's first president.

European Community (EC) President Jacques Delors, in a message on behalf of the entire EC, said Brussels received the news with great happiness and expressed the conviction that Havel would lead the Czech Republic to prosperity and even closer cooperation with the EC.

Austrian President Thomas Klestil, in his telegram, invited Havel to meet with him, adding that he placed great importance on good relations between the two neighbors: I want to assure you that seeing to good-neighborly relations between our countries, linked in many ways by culture, history, and geographical position, will be especially important to me. I am convinced that our future cooperation will be marked by the same spirit of friendship and trust, as our exchange of views has been up to the present, Klestil wrote in part.

Romanian Government spokeswoman Simona Miculescu, told CTK in Bucharest that her government did not doubt that Havel's election would enable the Czech people to achieve their goal of a prospering democratic society. She said Romania wished Havel much success in his new role.

One-time Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was the first noted Russian personality to congratulate Vaclav Havel today. In a telegram given to CTK by Gorbachev's Moscow-based foundation, the former Soviet leader noted the warm memories of his meeting with Havel and said he was happy to hear the result of the election.

The press office of Russian President Boris Yeltsin declined to comment on the result of yesterday's election in the Czech Republic, citing Yeltsin's departure for India today and the lack of appropriate spokesmen at the Kremlin.

Paris/Warsaw/Washington—Catherine Lalumiere, Council of Europe secretary general, considers Vaclav Havel's election as the first Czech president a great event.

In a telephone interview with CTK she said that Havel's election demonstrates the young Czech Republic's will to continue democratic development for which Havel has been striving throughout his life, especially after the 1989 velvet revolution.

French Government officials welcome Havel's election. Spokesmen for the French president and the Foreign Ministry, Jean Musitelli and Daniel Bernard, respectively told CTK that under diplomatic protocol they cannot take a stand on Havel's election before President Francois Mitterrand sends Havel a congratulatory telegram.

They said, however, that, given the personal friendship between the two presidents and their common efforts aimed at building a united Europe, there can be no doubts as to France's reaction to Havel's election. Our president's relationship towards Havel is exceptionally warm, Bernard said.

In Poland Havel's election as the first Czech president was received very positively, Zdobyslaw Milewski, spokesman for Polish Primer Minister Hanna Suchocka told CTK today.

He said Poland has always had a liking for Havel and this has not diminished in any way. Havel is a great politician, humanist and Poland's friend, he stressed.

Asked whether the Polish Government expects an improvement in cooperation within the Visegrad grouping after Havel's election, Milewski said that the Polish Government so far positively assesses Czech-Polish cooperation and also attaches great importance to work within the Visegrad grouping.

The Czech-Polish partnership is very good. The Polish Government sees Havel's election as a guarantee that bilateral and multilateral relations will remain as good as they have been so far, he stressed.

We congratulate Vaclav Havel on his election as the Czech Republic's first president, Richard Boucher, spokesman for the U.S. State Department told CTK today.

The United States Administration cooperated closely and productively with Havel as the president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, Boucher said. We look forward to continuing these close contacts in the future, he added.

Another 'Secret' Meeting Between Meciar, Klaus

LD2901191293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Against the background of conjectures about a secret evening meeting between Prime Ministers Klaus and Meciar two days ago, another piece of information appeared today. It says that both prime ministers secretly met even before the last alleged meeting, namely on 19 January. At that time Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus is alleged to have secretly gone to Slovakia in the evening.

This CTK report has been confirmed by high-ranking government circles of the two sides and also by the airport.

Klaus Admits To Talks

LD2901204893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus admitted in Davos today that his talks with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on Czechoslovak currency, on payments, and the division of assets between the two republics were in fact running non-stop, even on a basis of publicly not announced personal meetings. He also said that he would announce the date of currency separation publicly and in advance. In a CTK interview, he specified that it might be approximately two days before the event.

Klaus remarked that talks similar to those held with Meciar were under way also between other Czech and Slovak economists and politicians. He added that there were no substantial differences in opinions between the two sides. Vaclav Klaus confirmed that the currency split was only a technical matter and that people need not be disturbed.

Havel To Strengthen 'Friendly Relations' With Slovakia

AU2901190193 Prague CTK in English 2146 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 26 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today said he wants to strengthen friendly relations with all countries, mainly with Slovakia, the country closest to the Czech Republic.

Havel was speaking at his first press conference in his new capacity, held an hour and a half after his election as the first Czech President.

He said he intends to go to Slovakia on his first foreign trip. I consider ties with Slovakia to be a sort of priority at this delicate time, Havel said.

He said he wishes to see to the country's political stability, to the stability of its political system. I would like to be an inconspicuous guardian of political culture in our country, of a cultured public life, he said.

He thanked deputies and citizens who continually displayed their support to him during the difficult time in the last six months.

Havel said he is prepared to grant a limited amnesty, pointing out that according to the constitution an amnesty must also be signed by the Czech premier.

Havel dismissed views that the initial hesitation of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in promising support for his candidacy for the presidency might have had an impact on his impartiality.

I don't feel any special obligations to those who voted for me, he said.

He said he would like to cooperate very closely with the government coalition parties, and would also like to maintain contacts with the

Havel's Statement Not Binding on Foreign Ministry

LD2901201493 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 29 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel's statement Wednesday [27 January] that the Czech Republic should support the idea of international military intervention in Bosnia and Hercegovina is absolutely not binding on the Foreign Ministry, Pavel Bratinka, deputy foreign minister, today told CTK.

He said the ministry sees Havel's statement as a certain protest against a lack of action on the part of European institutions.

According to Bratinka, the president cannot have an influence on real foreign policy. With his prestige the president may support different international events, he said.

Bratinka believes that European countries long since should have more resolutely engaged in the region of former Yugoslavia. The policy of European states is a deep disappointment to everyone who is interested in human rights and stability being protected in Europe, he said.

According to Bratinka, some European countries hold their share of responsibility for the situation in former Yugoslavia. He added that West European countries have aroused hope in some republics of former Yugoslavia that their borders will be protected by international law.

KDU-CSL's Withdrawal Threat Surprises Coalition

LD3101185793 Prague CTK in English 1810 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 31 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party's (KDU-CSL) statement on Saturday [30 January] that it will consider leaving the government coalition unless the filling of the Czech Parliament's provisional senate is settled by March 31, elicited strong reaction from its coalition partners.

The statement said the KDU-CSL will withdraw from the government if a law on anticommunist resistance and a law on restitution of church property confiscated under former Communist rule are not adopted by June 30.

The KDU-CSL statement sounded like an ultimatum and came as a surprise, Tomas Jezek of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), a government coalition member, told CTK on Saturday.

It is not the demands in themselves which are surprising as they represent serious political problems, but the tone in which they were presented, he added.

He said the ODA favours restitution of church property under a so-called enumeration law which would single out individual church buildings to be returned to the church. I have a similar draft law ready on the table. The ODA intends to submit it in the near future, he said. He added that the bill has good chance of being adopted.

Jezek also thinks that a law on anticommunist resistance will also be passed. What is important is that it should precisely define the cases to which it can be applied, he said.

Referring to the provisional senate, the Upper House in the Czech parliament envisaged by the Czech Constitution, Jezek said that there still exists the theoretical eventuality that it will be filled by the former federal parliament deputies.

The Christian Democratic Party (KDS) considers the KDU-CSL demands reasonable and will support them, KDS chairman Vaclav Benda told CTK. He added, however, that it is necessary to distiguish between the contents and the tone of these demands.

He said that if seen as a ultimatum, the KDU-CSL statement would threaten the stability of the state and could mean a constitutional crisis, which would be very unfortunate. "We will support the government's stability and its ability to make decisions. We cannot afford destabilisation at the present time," Benda added.

New Tax Legislation To Conform to EC System

AU2901190493 Prague CTK in English 1401 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 27 (CTK)—The tax system introduced January 1 in the Czech Republic will be amended in the future to address a range of problems and to conform to the system in the European Community, Czech Ministry of Finance spokesman Vaclav Grammetbauer told journalists today.

He said that the new 23 percent value-added tax is not high in comparison to the previous turnover tax, and that taxes on a range of commodities decreased with the introduction of the new system.

He said that such problems as the merger and division of business enterprises and the transfer of profits from one country to another to exploit price differences could be

addressed by amendments to the tax code. The amount of direct taxation will undoubtedly decrease in the future, he said.

EC Earmarked 180 Million ECU for PHARE

AU2901190093 Prague CTK in English 1338 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 26 (CTK)—In 1991-92, the European Community (EC) member countries earmarked the total of 180 million ECU [European Currency Units] for the regional PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme, Pavel Rozsypal from the Czech Economy Ministry said at today's meeting of Phare coordinators.

With the PHARE programme launched in 1990, the EC countries provide unreturnable assistance to the Central and East European states to restructure their economies. In 1991-92, the programme focused mainly on the fields of telecommunications, transport, education, the power industry, nuclear plants' security, medium business development and ecology.

Officials React to Czech Presidential Election

AU2901190393 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 26 (CTK)—Jan Carnogursky, chairman of Slovakia's Christian Democratic Party (KDH), expressed satisfaction at the election of Vaclav Havel to the Czech presidency, while Peter Weiss, head of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), said he hoped ties between Czechs and Slovaks would remain strong for a long time to come.

Both men made their comments to CTK, after the Czech parliament's election of former Czechoslovak president and playwright Vaclav Havel as the first Czech president.

Carnogursky said Havel's election would not influence the development of Slovakia, however, which he said was proceeding in an altogether different direction.

Weiss said he was not surprised by the outcome, saying the Czech situation had crystallized in recent days.

Presidential Candidates Fail To Receive Majority

AU2901190593 Prague CTK in English 1158 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 26 (CTK)—None of the four candidates nominated for Slovak president today succeeded in winning the three-fifths majority of votes required for election in the first round of the first double-round vote in the National Council of the Slovak Republic (parliament).

Advancing to the second round to take place Wednesday [27 January] are two candidates who received the highest number of votes: Roman Kovac from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) with 69 votes and Milan Ftacnik from the Democratic Left Party (SDL) with 30 votes. Jozef Prokes from the Slovak National Party (SNS) was supported by 17 deputies and Anton Neuwirth from the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) received 27 votes.

In a short speech before parliament, Kovac said the Slovak president should help society overcome the period of economic slump, which will probably hit Slovakia and which is likely to be accompanied by social problems.

Ftacnik said economic transformation is of key importance to him. The main goal is not market for market, but such an economy that will create conditions for a quality life for all.

Neuwirth cited the protection of health, a good environment and a social and ecologically orientated market economy as major tasks of the president and the whole society.

Jozef Prokes thinks the president should listen more than speak, and work hard. According to him, the president cannot create his own concepts, but must cooperate with the parliament and government.

After the speeches, the deputies started to elect the president in a secret ballot.

A total of 143 ballots out of the 147 cast were valid, two were invalid and two deputies abstained. The Slovak parliament has 150 seats.

The results show that not all members of the parliamentary group of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) voted for their candidate, Roman Kovac. The HZDS has 74 seats while Kovac won 69 votes.

A three-fifths majority, or 90 votes, was required for election.

Shortly before the election results were announced, Chairman of the Parliament Ivan Gasparovic (HZDS) told CTK he thinks all HZDS deputies voted for Kovac.

The 13th session was adjourned until Wednesday, January 27, when the first double-round vote will continue at 1000.

Next Round Scheduled for 15 Feb

AU2901173193 Prague CTK in English 1306 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—[passage omitted] Since no candidate succeeded in today's run-off election for the Slovak presidency, another double-round election will take place February 15-16, the leaders of deputies' groups in the Slovak parliament decided at their meeting after the results of today's election had been declared.

The information was given to journalists by Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic later in the day.

He said the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] will nominate former chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) Michal Kovac as its presidential candidate.

This has been decided by the HZDS Presidium and I do not think anything should be changed about it, Gasparovic said.

He said he did not expect a Slovak president to be elected today because some political parties believe that a strong HZDS power triangle formed by the president, the premier, and the chairman of the parliament would thus come into being in Slovakia.

Gasparovic said that talks on a future presidential candidate, who should be non-partisan according to the wish of all parliamentary parties, will continue.

He added that he himself would not accept the candidacy because he believes he is more useful in the post I now hold.

Only candidates who did not run for the presidency in the first double-round election may be nominated for the

second double-round vote. The election will observe the same rules, which means that a three-fifths majority of votes will be required for election.

Meciar Discusses Presidential Election Process

LD2901211193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Alica Bielikova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bielikova] Prime Minister, after the president was not elected there began to emerge opinions that this is your first political defeat; of the Movement [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia—HZDS] or of you personally?

[Meciar] The choice of a president is a very complex matter. The HZDS laid stress on the president's personal qualities. What sort of a person he is, what he can do, what he knows, and on what can be his contribution. The other parties considered these qualities to be negligible. They put in the foreground the fact that he was one of the HZDS members. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] I remember the situation in the Federal Assembly when the bill on the ways of ending the federation was debated. At that time, one of the deputies for your movement said that you, the HZDS, once had been in the opposition, you knew what it meant to be in the opposition, and that you knew just too well that the opposition cannot be steamrolled. The only possibility is to hold talks with the opposition and to come to an agreement.

[Meciar] The power is structured. There is a parliamentary power and I believe that we have introduced in Slovakia a very democratic internal mechanism that cannot be doubted. (?This is) in contrast to the Czech side where the system of representation in the bodies of the National Council is not the proportionate one but the one of majority. This is not the case in Slovakia, here it is democratic. There is the judicial power where no political party may exert its influence. If anybody wanted to do so he would destroy this power. There is also the executive power. Nowadays, the performance needs to be coordinated and united. Have we forgotten already that this state was not wanted by the Christian Democrats? Have we forgotten already that the Party of Democratic Left did not want it? Have we forgotten already that the Hungarian organizations did not vote in favor of it either?

Should we today hand over this state for them to administer? On behalf of what and whom will they do it? [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, some time ago I asked you whether you have been noticing any signs of dissent inside your movement. At that time you told me that different views on certain issues did exist but there was no conflict.

[Meciar] I still do not think there is any kind of stream in the Movement aiming at disintegration. What we have is rather unfulfilled personal ambitions.

[Bielikova] Knazko [deputy prime minister and HZDS deputy chairman] hinted that the Public Against Violence, for example, got into isolation by shutting out everybody else and his feeling was that the same process was going on inside the HZDS.

[Meciar] Allow me to reserve comment on the statements made by Knazko. My evaluation of the situation is completely different.

[Bielikova] What would be your view if, namely, Knazko would be a presidential candidate?

[Meciar] A candidate can be proposed by the Movement. He can be proposed also by other political parties. The Movement could not support a candidate of another political party unless its board agreed to do so.

[Bielikova] You said that the essence of the political development in Slovakia was in the solution of economic problems but soon after the elections surprise was voiced over the fact that you sent your economic experts to Prague and that you are actually not even using them now.

[Meciar] I do not feel that is true. Of the economists who worked in the HZDS two were in Prague, Michal Kovac [former Federal Assembly chairman] and Rudolf Filkus [former Federal Assembly deputy chairman]. Michal Kovac as a financial expert is helping me very much in everyday work. Of course, a lot of that information is not of the publishing kind and that is why his contribution to this work has not been advertised. Rudolf Filkus has himself voluntarily chosen a diplomatic career and is preparing for it. These two gentlemen have never been an isolated group—on the contrary. A very strong group of developing ambitious men in their forties is attached to the office of the Slovak Government. They will waive increasingly greater influence in the economic sphere. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] On Wednesday [27 January] the National Council of the Slovak Republic also discussed the separation of currencies. Can you give us more details today?

[Meciar] I know nothing about it.

[Bielikova] This fact has been noticed also by a number of foreign dailies. For example, according to a study made by the U.S. company Plan Econ, the Slovak koruna will evidently need a 20 percent devaluation in relation to the Czech koruna for a balance to be achieved.

[Meciar] Of course, the government has been discussing these issues. I shall not try to hide that. But the government is not making the results of this discussion public.

Take the example of John Major who one day said there shall be no devaluation and the next day there was. Secrecy about these matters is not an expression of lack of respect for the public but is rather due to a possible movement, which could occur abroad in relation to both the Czech and Slovak banking systems in the field of credit, in the field of rates, in the field of loans, etc. That is why such operations are on principle done very quickly and without the revelation of all the relevant information.

[Bielikova] Is devaluation necessary for the economy's revitalization?

[Meciar] In all events I can say—and that is the only certainty in this aspect—that after the separation of the currencies, the Czech koruna as well as the Slovak koruna will start at a 1:1 ratio. Whether a devaluation will occur, or how long this rate of exchange will last, that is a matter of development. Of course, anybody could say that this is a concern of the government. No. The course of the exchange of money, of the cash flow, is the concern of the public, it is a concern of entrepreneurs, it is a concern of organizations because if, for instance, we want to make savings from which to extend credit, then the money must be in our banks. The exchange of money will assist this. It will cut off the flow of money to the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

So once again I underline: We do not want to take a single koruna away from anybody. We only ask the public to calmly have regard for the instructions of the government because the whole operation is a very complicated one. For a couple of days a number of billion currency units will be in movement and that is why extensive security and other organizational measures will be taken to allow this operation to take place.

Knazko Accused of 'Fomenting' HZDS Divisions

AU2901181493 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—Slovak Premier and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Chairman Vladimir Meciar accused his foreign minister, Milan Knazko, of fomenting divisions within the party.

Knazko, who is also deputy chairman of the HZDS, broke party discipline when he incited deputies on Tuesday [26 January] not to vote for the HZDS candidate in the Slovak presidential election, Roman Kovac, Meciar said.

He also said Knazko's views before the first round of voting, that the president could be a nonpartisan candidate were only his own and he added that the HZDS party leadership rejected this statement.

Meciar called on politicians to stop arguing among themselves for the sake of individual prestige and said Slovakia's economy should not be affected by such disputes.

Knazko Responds to Meciar's Criticism

AU2901181593 Prague CTK in English 2224 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)—Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, who is also deputy chairman of the republic's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), told CTK today that he does not think the HZDS is the only party capable of resolving Slovakia's problems.

On the contrary, I think that just such a mistaken perception harms our movement the most, he said. He added it is a mistake when one person considers his view as the only correct one, and an even greater mistake when he then considers all others who do not share this view as enemies.

Responding to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's accusation that he had broken party discipline by allegedly inciting parliament members not to vote for HZDS candidate Roman Kovac in the Slovak presidential elections, Knazko said this terminology reminds me of something from the past.

He said he told deputies that the election of the president is a matter of conviction and conscience, adding that obedience or lack of obedience are not criteria for a minister.

Knazko said the HZDS should take the words of its leader Vladimir Meciar to heart and concentrate on the resolution of economic problems in Slovakia, rather than get tied up in the presidential elections.

If the chairman of our movement hadn't today excluded the possibility that a joint candidate could be proposed for the second round of the presidential elections, we could have done a lot more to have such a candidate in the first round, he commented.

Rudolf Filkus, chairman of the HZDS's governing board, today agreed with Knazko's view on the election of the president.

In an interview with CTK, he said greater agreement should have been reached among the different parties in the Slovak parliament. He emphasized that he did not think policy differences within the HZDS were harming the movement. It is namely different approaches that contribute to resolving problems, Filkus said.

Carnogursky Predicts Split in Ruling Movement

AU3001140093 Prague CTK in English 2120 GMT 27 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 27 (CTK)— The opposition Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) has long been predicting a split in the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) because of its lack of an unambiguous ideological base, KDH Chairman and former Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky told CTK today.

He said that internal problems within the HZDS may negatively affect the Slovak Government's activities.

The current constitutional set-up in the Slovak Republic makes it impossible either to recall a government member or to accept his resignation, which considerably complicates the situation.

Under the new Slovak Constitution which became valid on October 1 a minister can hand his resignation only to the Slovak president. Should the Slovak National Council pass a no-confidence vote on a government member he or she can be recalled by the president. The president can also recall a minister under a premier's proposal. However, no president has so far been elected, after today's second voting of the first round.

Meciar Accused of Election Law Violations

AU3101163793 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "(ao)": "A New Right-Wing Party in a Week"]

[Text] Bratislava—At an extraordinary press briefing Jan Carnogursky referred to the crude pressure exerted by the current government team on the citizens of Kosice on the eve of the local elections. By promising to provide government credit to bridge the critical situation in warm water supplies if the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia-Slovak National Party-Christian Social Union coalition candidate is elected in the East Slovak city, Prime Minister Meciar—to say the least—violated the spirit of the Election Law. The law was also violated in the sense that on the evening of 22 January Radiozurnal broadcast a report stating that ballot papers had been marked in a retirement home in favor of the Christian Democratic Movement-Civic Democratic Party-Civic Democratic Union-Hungarian Civic Party candidate, Rudolf Bauer, who eventually won the election. The mayor of Bratislava Old Town, Miloslava Zemkova, said that the constituent congress of the Party of Conservative Democrats will be held in Kosice on 1 February. At the moment, this party exists in the form of a members' union, but preparatory committees have already been established throughout the Slovak Republic.

Criticized by SNS

LD2801202393 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 28 (CTK)—Slovak National Party Chairman Jozef Prokes today criticised Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) leader Vladimir Meciar for appealing for party discipline to HZDS deputies during the Slovak presidential election.

At a press conference today, Prokes said if someone appeals for party discipline to deputies during the election of the Slovak president, my defence mechanism turns on, particularly when the number one person in this republic is concerned.

On Wednesday [27 January], Meciar accused HZDS Vice Chairman Milan Knazko of violating party discipline because he had allegedly urged HZDS deputies not to vote for the party's presidential candidate Roman Kovac.

According to Prokes, an agreement on a joint candidate of the parliamentary parties for the second election round is impossible if other political parties are being accused of playing political poker while there exists only one single candidate of the movement which has the largest number of deputies in the Slovak parliament. Prokes was reacting to Meciar's statement after the unsuccessful election of a president. Meciar said that a joint presidential candidate could be agreed upon if two parties stop playing political poker. Meciar was referring to the SNS and the Democratic Left Party (SDL).

Parliament Chairman Nominated for Presidency

LD2901182493 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 29 (CTK)—Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic was nominated today as a candidate for the second double-round of voting in the Slovak presidential elections, Slovak Radio announced today.

Gasparovic has so far issued no statement on the nomination. On January 27 he told journalists he would not accept a nomination because he believed he was more useful in his present function as chairman of parliament.

He also confirmed Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's statement that former Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac would be the candidate of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the second double-round of the election.

Gasparovic's nomination was given to the National Council Office by Independent Deputy Ivan Hudec.

HZDS Supports Meciar, Assails Knazko, Filkus

LD3101171293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Representatives of more than half the district caucuses of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] met in Trnava yesterday. Having analyzed the political situation in individual districts [okres], they expressesd unequivocal support for Premier Vladimir Meciar as HZDS chairman. At the same time they strongly rejected the political presentation and actions of Milan Knazko, HZDS deputy chairman, and Rudolf Filkus, chairman of the HZDS council.

District caucus representatives will ask the HZDS political caucus to convene an extraordinary session of the republican caucus by 5 February at the latest. The session should immediately address the situation within the movement. They have also asked the HZDS arbitration commission to make a statement on whether the

actions of Milan Knazko and Rudolf Filkus do not contravene the decrees of HZDS bodies.

HZDS' Kovac Denies Split in Movement

LD2801191493 Prague CTK in English 1712 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 28 (CTK)—Michal Kovac, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) unofficial candidate for Slovak president in the second round of elections, has denied the existence of two wings within the HZDS.

In today's interview with CTK, the former chairman of the now defunct Czechoslovak federal parliament refused to comment on disputes allegedly existing within the ruling movement, though even its chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has admitted them. Kovac said he considers it to be an internal matter of the HZDS.

Asked whether or not he agrees with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko's (HZDS) statement that Slovakia, judging by some of its last moves, is being placed among countries that have not fully rid themselves of authoritative methods of government, Kovac answered in the negative.

Kovac said that Knazko simply holds a different view as far as Slovakia's internal and foreign policies are concerned, but that this does not mean any polarisation within the HZDS, he added.

What matters is whether other members of the movement support Knazko's stand, said Kovac, and added that, in his opinion, it is not so.

Reactions to Presidential Election Outcome

AU3101213793 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Jan 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "The Result Was To Be Expected; From Reactions to the Presidential Elections"]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Chairman Vladimir Meciar described as incompetent and unprofessional the speculations of some politicians that the nomination of Roman Kovac for the first election round was a tactical move by the HZDS, aimed at securing victory for Michal Kovac in the second round. He admitted, furthermore, that a certain political struggle was taking place within the HZDS. He confirmed that HZDS Deputy Chairman Milan Knazko had called on HZDS deputies not to vote for Roman Kovac, which Meciar considers to be blatant tactlessness and breach of discipline.

Vladimir Meciar did not rule out the possibility of a common candidate being proposed for the second round so that "at least two parties stop playing political poker and stop balancing out the post of president with other advantages." Only talks with the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] can be contemplated, Meciar said, adding that the talks with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] on the eve of the second election day were unpleasant.

Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR], does not regard the results of the first election round as a defeat for the HZDS. In his opinion, the outcome was influenced primarily by the fact that the four strongest political forces nominated their own candidates. He said that he expects intensive talks among the political parties to precede the second election round and confirmed that the HZDS Presidium had nominated Michal Kovac, former chairman of the CSFR Federal Assembly and HZDS deputy chairman, as its candidate for the second round. Asked whether he would accept the candidacy for the post of Slovak president, Ivan Gasparovic replied: I do not want to sound immodest, but I think that I will probably be more useful in the post of parliament chairman. Ivan Gasparovic considers a certain handicap the fact that, unlike the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic already has a president. He observed, however, that Vaclav Havel had been elected "by a modest majority of just over 50 percent." From this viewpoint he considers the method of electing the president of the Slovak Republic, based on a two-thirds majority of votes, to be more democratic.

Peter Weiss: The course of the first round of the Slovak presidential elections is viewed by SDL Chairman and NR SR First Deputy Chairman Peter Weiss as a logical consequence of the failure to hold in due time serious political negotiations. "The HZDS simply confronted the other political parties with a fait accompli: This is our candidate; vote for him," Weiss said. He is of the opinion that, from the viewpoint of contacts with other political parties, this course of action was either an indication of the HZDS's amateurism or of the conviction that everything they do is bound to come off. He also conceded the possibility of some political circles within the HZDS not wishing for the president to be elected in the first round. Peter Weiss stated, furthermore, that, in contrast to Roman Kovac, Michal Kovac, the other HZDS candidate, had met with SDL representatives several times and not just once immediately before the elections.

In the opinion of Frantisek Miklosko, former chairman of the Slovak National Council and current KDH deputy to the NR SR, the results of the Slovak presidential elections reflect the responsibility of the opposition in the sense that a man should be elected president who would bring about balance on the Slovak political scene. Miklosko said that the situation would also remain complicated prior to the second election round.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH]-Coexistence coalition had talks with presidential candidate Roman Kovac yesterday morning and decided not to make it incumbent upon its deputies to vote unanimously. MKDH Chairman Vojtech Bugar

stressed that, if deputies of Hungarian nationality do not endorse Roman Kovac, this will not be directed against him personally. "He has been the only one in the government to hold talks with us on the sensitive issue of ethnic minorities," Bugar specified. He noted, however, that in the six months of its activity the Slovak Government, which is made up almost exclusively of HZDS members, and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in particular not only have not done anything positive for members of the Hungarian minority but have taken discriminatory steps against it.

Ukrainians Appeal to Meciar for Ethnic Rights

AU2901151993 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Jan 93 p 13

[TA SR report: "Open Letter From Ruthenians-Ukrainians; Makovica to Meciar"]

[Text] Kosice—In a petition addressed to Prime Minister Meciar, the Makovica initiative group of Ruthenians-Ukrainians from Kosice (east Slovakia) asks that laws be adopted in the spirit of the Slovak Constitution and international law to provide a real basis for the respectable development of ethnic minorities living in the Slovak Republic.

The petition demands that due regard be given to the historical fact that Ruthenians-Ukrainians are members of a nation with a separate sense of identity. It demands they be given an opportunity to participate in cultural and social life in accordance with their own wishes and that any artificial subdivision and creation of tensions among them be prevented. It further calls for an ethnic education system to be established that would provide conditions for them to learn their native tongue, the history and culture of their nation, the official language, and other subjects. Another demand is that the structure of the radio broadcasts from the Presov studio of Slovak Radio be reassessed and modified in such a way that broadcasts are made in complete blocks rather than being fragmented and interspersed between other programs.

In addition, the Makovica initiative group demands that the original name and orientation of the Ukrainian Culture Museum in Svidnik be preserved as a culture center for Ruthenians-Ukrainians, that there be no changes to church services, and that the original names be restored to recently renamed—even less recently renamed—communities. Bilingual signs should be consistently used in ethnically mixed regions.

SDL Claims Shortage of Economists in Government

AU2901140293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "(do)": "Almost Beyond Constitutionality"]

[Text] The Club of Economists of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] issued a declaration in which they say, among other things: "The government does not have qualified experts in positions for economists, and there is no one to coordinate the activity of the economic sectors. In this way, the government has given a chance to the professionally better prepared Czech Government to push unilaterally for the Czech Republic's interests. The improvising attitude of the Slovak Government has reached a stage where it it is pushed into decisions by uncontrolled developments. Sometimes these decisions go beyond constitutionality. For example, the admission of the possibility that people could lose some of their savings. This would be expropriation, in fact. We are convinced that the government is obliged to guarantee each and every citizen that all his korunas will be exchanged."

Meciar on Coming Currency Division Issues

LD3101204893 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1810 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Regular weekly television address by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, fellow citizens:

I would like to thank all of you who during this week lined up in a disciplined way, as well as those who made it possible for them to deposit their money in financial institutions. You are doing it also in your own interest. The fact that this organizational preparation [for currency split] proceeded calmly and with good discipline gives a hope that the process of exchange, when we are going to line up once more, will run in a similar way.

We make no secret of currency separation between the Czech and Slovak Republics being under preparation. The fact that data and facts about preparations are not being made public until these are decided upon leads to a situation in which too many rumors, speculations, various semi-truths, or total untruths emerge.

One of these is the canard saying that I had asked the Czech Republic to provide some loan. It is not true. I did not want any loans.

Regarding what needs to happen in the coming days for the currency split to go ahead, several decisions should be taken. The first precondition is that the act is adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic on its own currency, the second one is a government ruling and a decree by the National Bank of Slovakia on the procedure during money exchange.

Of course, this on its own does not suffice. We are bound by agreements with the Czech Republic and there must be approval of the agreement on currency separation. For such a separation to be realistically implemented, we have to conclude an agreement on the division of the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank and, in a similar way, of the Czechoslovak State Bank.

These are a number of acts that will have to become legally valid within a few days for these processes to be carried out.

We make no secret of the fact that the government of the Slovak Republic intends to present such a bill to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. You will learn the date in good time from news broadcasts.

It is just as important to know what will happen next as it is important that the currency exchange goes calmly.

The Slovak crown and the Czech crown will probably not be mutually interchangeable. We are therefore searching for a modification of accounting and payments that will allow all payments from Czech lands to Slovakia and vice versa to go smoothly without limiting trading business. [passage omitted]

The concept of the currency separation creates a totally new quality [as heard]. It compels us to face the most difficult stage of economic processes in our country, namely, the task of realistically assessing and laying grounds for the value of labor expressed in the value of the crown. [passage omitted]

Whether we want it or not, we have achieved certain success in the economic reform during the second half of last year. In particular, the Slovak Republic's exports are showing no deficit for the first time. This means that a balance of payments is being achieved. Certain processes of revitalization of the economy have begun, even though these are very moderate, very slight. They are already present though. Therefore, any decision on whether to devalue or not, and if yes, then when, depends on the development of foreign currency reserves. [passage omitted]

It will not be possible to place Slovak crowns abroad, not in the form of deposits in foreign banks. For that purpose we have our banks, here, in this country.

I want to guarantee to those who have foreign currency that during currency split we also intend to pass a law or a decree that will assure everybody that they can have foreign currency passbooks, while we will guarantee anonymity of all deposits in foreign currency. [passage omitted]

The amount to be exchanged per capita depends on how many banknotes will have been marked, on how much will be needed for the exchange of cash balance, and how much will be needed for wages. The decision is obviously not far away. [passage omitted]

Minister Comments on Currency Split

AU2901152893 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[TA SR report: "First the Law, Then Separation"]

[Text] Bratislava—Currency separation would have to be preceded by an abrogation of the currency union between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. In addition, the National Council of the Slovak Republic would have to discuss a law on the introduction of a new currency. Similarly, a government decree must be drafted on the manner of exchange of the Czechoslovak koruna for the new Slovak koruna, Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said.

Moreover, according to him, appropriate operational measures are necessary, as the Slovak koruna will be in circulation together with unstamped money [Czechoslovak banknotes of small denomination will not be stamped] that will be gradually withdrawn by the individual financial institutions. Furthermore, the places of exchange must be protected, and an operational plan prepared for the transportation of the money. According to him, approximately 32 billion korunas circulate in the Slovak Republic, and 20 billion of this must be stamped to facilitate an undramatic process of exchange. Toth emphasized that citizens must be aware of the starting date and ending date of the exchange, the places of exchange, and the manner in which the money will be exchanged. The actual process might take four to five days. Citizens hospitalized or abroad during this period may exchange their money even after the official deadline. The limit for the exchange has not been set, but technical considerations must be taken into account.

At this time, Toth does not see any reason for devaluation of the Slovak koruna. Thus far, the balance of trade with the Czech Republic or other countries has not been calculated. The trade statement can only be made on the basis of a complex analysis of the movement of goods over an initial three-month period. There are some preliminary estimates of the movement of goods between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, according to which, in the first half of last year, the Czech Republic showed a surplus of 5 billion korunas. This, with respect to the turnover of 130-140 billion korunas, does not justify the claim that one Czech koruna will be equal to three Slovak korunas. Reputable institutions in Austria have estimated, according to Toth, that given the present turnover between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, the ratio should be 1:1.08 or 1:1.12.

Russian Official Discusses Minorities Issue

AU2901123593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 93 p 7

[Interview with Teymuraz Otarovich Ramishvili, head of the Main Department on International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the Russian Foreign Ministry, by Gabor Horvath; in Budapest, date not given: "Good Chances for the Protection of Minorities"]

[Excerpts] Teymuraz Otarovich Ramishvili, head of a main department in charge of international humanitarian cooperation and human rights of the Russian Foreign Ministry, held talks with leading officials of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and other government bodies, Hungarian politicians, and experts on human rights in Budapest. Among other things, the Russian diplomat spoke to NEPSZABADSAG about the possible Hungarian-Russian cooperation on national minority issues. [passage omitted]

[Horvath] Coordination on national minority issues is particularly active between Hungary and Russia....

[Ramishvili] That is true. The joint statement containing the basic principles of protecting national minority rights was signed during Yeltsin's visit to Hungary in 1992. The initiative came from the Hungarian side in 1990. At that time, unfortunately, we failed to reach agreement, mostly because of the stereotypes still extant among some of our political officials, rather than problems of substance. This process was renewed in 1991, but again we failed to reach an agreement. However, having the political will, we succeeded in quickly agreeing on the text in 1992.

[Horvath] What is the goal of the current talks of experts?

[Ramishvili] This precisely serves to deepen the cooperation, in accordance with the previous agreements and the joint statement. I must immediately make it clear that, as the text shows, the statement is not directed against any other country.

[Horvath] However, there are countries that think differently....

[Ramishvili] Yes, we know about this. Such objections were also submitted to Russia, but I see no contradiction between the intention of two countries to strengthen their cooperation and the interests of other countries. Moreover, we offered this form of cooperation and the formulation of similiar documents precisely to those countries that fear for their interests. As far as I know, Hungary would also be ready for this.

[Horvath] Do you see any chance for the emergence of a network of bilateral agreements on the protection of national minorities and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe?

[Ramishvili] We are very much interested in this, mainly because of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of problems connected with this. Besides, we are carrying out such an activity within the framework of the CIS, and an agreement on national minorities is currently under preparation. The text of this agreement does not have too many details, but this issue enjoys priority there too. I think that there are good chances for the creation of a system of bilateral or even multilateral agreements on the protection of national minorities in the area formerly called Eastern Europe, now Central Europe.

[Horvath] It seems natural that Hungary, which used to be the mother country of Europe's largest national minority, and Russia, which now has this status, agree on these issues, but will there also be such good will in the countries where these national minorities are living?

[Ramishvili] I think that are chances for this. Even if we are now in, as it were, a "hedgehog" position in the negotiations on the national minorities, even on the European forums, with these issues we are not striving to destabilize other countries. On the contrary: national minorities, self-government, and cultural autonomy are issues in which, through preventive diplomacy, we must avoid the emergence of situations similar to the conflicts that have erupted in the former Soviet Union or the former Yugoslavia. The policy of many European countries has not yet changed, but many of our Western partners are beginning to realize that it is impossible to achieve progress without using new definitions and new methods. I believe that the recognition of the importance of national minority problems and of the danger of unsolved conflicts is a trend that is rapidly gaining strength in Europe.

[Horvath] In other words, this will not be a long process.

[Ramishvili] No, it will not be too long.

[Horvath] Western magazines keep wondering about which point in the former Soviet Union will experience the outbreak of a conflict similar to the one in Bosnia. Is it possible to avoid this bloody example?

[Ramishvili] I think that the Yugoslav example and the long period of time in which, despite all efforts, the international community has been unable to halt the bloodshed prove that we still lack an adequate mechanism of crisis prevention or even crisis management, although we are talking here about the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. One of the goals of Hungarian-Russian cooperation is precisely to try to work out such mechanisms. Perhaps we will start a joint research project on this subject, of course not merely theoretical research, but work directed at producing concrete proposals. We see now that the deployment of peacekeeping forces in various locations in the CIS is far from being a clear-cut solution. This is not a miracle cure. There are places where a timely deployment of peacekeeping forces can help in extinguishing the fire, but there are also places where they do the opposite, they only exacerbate

the situation. We hope that the setting up of the institution of High Commissioner for National Minority Issues in the framework of the CSCE, a step particularly supported by Hungary and Russia, represents a step forward.

[Horvath] There are several thousand Russian people living in Hungary. Did you deal with this issue during your talks?

[Ramishvili] Yes, but we did not go into detail. There are no special problems here, and one of the goals of this visit is to learn the very rich and often very positive Hungarian experiences connected with the national minority problem. Although each of our negotiating partners mentioned the fact that the Hungarian practice is criticized, as an expert I can say that we saw that there is great attention focused on these issues here. There is a national consensus here on both the issue of Hungarians living beyond the borders and the issue of other national minorities living in Hungary, and this seems to be a very important thing in such matters.

[Horath] Much is said about a turn in this trend: While we were previously advancing toward European integration, the concept of the nation state seems to be gaining ground lately, primarily in the former socialist countries.

[Ramishvili] This is natural to a certain extent. The beginning of reintegration will take a long time, and the Western example also shows that this process will not be devoid of temporary setbacks. Of course, this is an unfortunate thing if we look at it from the viewpoint of the individual, but this is the situation.

Document on National Defense Principles Reviewed

AU3101163593 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Jan 93 p 4

[Article by "V.Z.": "Defense Principles—We Do Not Regard Any Country as Enemy"]

[Text] The basic principles and tasks of the defense of the Hungarian Republic determine the basic principles and goals of the Hungarian defense policy within the framework of our overall security policy and in coordination with its principles and goals. Adjusting to the changed international conditions and to the possible dangers threatening Hungary, these principles outline the strategy of our defense policy, our defense system, and the directions of restructuring of our Armed Forces. This was pointed out in the document containing the basic principles and main tasks of the defense of the Hungarian Republic.

According to the document based on the security policy, we are living at a time fraught with new types of conflicts and uncertainties, and therefore, no country, including Hungary, can renounce the armed defense that is in harmony with the UN Charter. Our defense policy has a defensive nature, and subsequently, we do not regard any country as our enemy, and we do not have any predetermined enemy image. We regard the Armed Forces as the final means of defending our country.

Because Hungary's situation does not give us the alternative of military neutrality, only multilateral cooperation and political, economic, and military alliances can provide firm guarantees for our security, the bill points out and continues with the factors that are threatening Hungary's security. The document points out that the chances of a total war among countries have diminished. However, the chances of conflicts that are difficult to forecast have increased as a result of the difficulties and contradictions inherent in the transition from economic and social stability to democracy, and the territorial-national-national minority conflicts coupled with the renewed territorial debates. The internal conflicts erupting in our region and civil war actions accompanied by the infiltration of armed groups into Hungary or provocations against us could represent a military threat. The interesting thing about this document is that among factors threatening security, it also mentions problems not related to military defense, like ecological and civilization threats that could become particularly tense because of Hungary's relatively unfavorable topography. We must also take into account other forms of nonstate-level force: paramilitary organizations or armed terrorist groups could use Hungary as a transit or target country.

Sufficient defense is the starting point of our defense policy. The practical implementation of our national defense policy is based on the unity of principles of cooperation, restraint, and defense. The principle of cooperation means that Hungary wants to achieve guarantees for its security mainly through developing bilateral and regional contacts and strengthening the CSCE process.

The principle of restraint and defense means maintaining our defense capability. In harmony with the principle of restraint, we must maintain the level and alert of our national defense forces so that they can make a possible military aggression against us a risky endeavor. In addition to military defense, in times of threat, we must set the political and diplomatic mechanisms in motion, the document points out and continues with the description of the Armed Forces and the direction of military development.

Legislator Views Security Policy Proposal

AU2901140993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee and member of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Katalin Karcagi; place and date not given: "The Security Policy Concept Is Flawed"]

[Text] The proposal made—as a third attempt—by the Foreign Ministry and Defense Ministry on Hungary's security policy concept is unsuitable for discussion,

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi says. According to him, there is a chance that, at his committee's session on 27 January where the document will be discussed in the presence of [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky, the deputies of the government parties will also request the ministries to redraft the proposal.

[Karcagi] What are your and your party's objections to the proposal?

[Szent-Ivanyi] When we suggested the withdrawal of the second version, the committee's view was that the security policy concept should be very concise and professional, an almost textbook description of Hungary's security policy situation and concepts. We are not expecting a very detailed analysis; according to international practice, only the basic principles of this issue are laid down. Security policy is a sensitive issue everywhere, and this is especially true for Hungary in the current, very delicate Central European situation. It is not good to exaggerate the dangers, but it is not good not to face the risks, either. The principles have to be formulated in such a way that no one in our neighborhood should be able to see them as threatening or offensive. I was astonished when I received the latest version because it abounds with descriptive historical-philosophical elements that are not at all necessary in my view. There is a long discourse on the role of nationalism in Eastern Europe. It talks about nationalism with a certain amount of understanding, referring to the fact this sentiment was oppressed for a long time and now it is natural for it to flare up.

[Karcagi] Does the understanding apply also to the neighboring countries?

[Szent-Ivanyi] It applies to everything, but of course the concept indicates that there is hostile nationalism and a positive one. Although not openly, the material reflects a kind of supercilious attitude in a number of places, and we know that there is a very strong reaction to this in the neighboring countries. This feeling of superiority results in false conclusions. For example, one point of the proposal states that we should actively participate in resolving the crises.

[Karcagi] This contradicts the former official statements because the government has always emphasized that it does not want to play any kind of military role in settling the crises in the neighboring countries. Is it not possible that the proposal was talking about the intention to mediate and to participate in the political settlement?

[Szent-Ivanyi] Naturally, we can also approach it positively, and I hope that the government will continue to adhere to its former intention. But in that case, it has to state this clearly. The way the concept assesses the European processes and the big European institutions is also incorrect because, for example, in one place it states that NATO and the European security and cooperation process are in danger. Regardless of what we actually think of these, in my view, an official document should not make a stand on these factors, especially not in such a crude wording. What is actually happening is that these institutions are searching their new role, but this should not be included in the document, either. The issue that was already criticized in the program of national renewal emerges again in the document: According to this, the national minority issue is the central point of our security policy concept. I am not disputing the importance of the national minority issue, but our experience is that it is this issue to which the neighboring countries react most sensitively. We must say that this is an important element but it is not decisive or exclusive and we do not subordinate everything to it. Very briefly and with omissions, the discussion of the Armed Forces' reform appears immediately after discussing the national minority issue. In my view, this does not belong to the security policy concept, especially if it is a brief outline. However, if it is mentioned, then it also has to be stated immediately that, fundamentally, Hungary seeks its security in its foreign political activities rather than in military force. Naturally, defense is an important addition. Secondly, it has to be stated that the tasks of the Hungarian Army are of a defensive nature. These have to be marked out precisely: The defense of territorial integrity—the latest events show that air defense is very important—and guaranteeing the security of the Hungarian citizens' life and property. We have to prepare for this with the reform of the Army. However, I would not recommend including a deep analysis on the reform of the Armed Forces, because it would suggest that Hungary places emphasis on a military type security policy. The statements so far have shown, and we also agree with this, that the country has a basically foreign policy type security policy which is supplemented by defense. An important thing is missing from this proposal, namely it does not have a code of behavior. The principles of how Hungary would behave in certain situations have to be laid down, and the fact that it does everything to avoid becoming involved in conflicts. It should be clear for everyone that, should an unfortunate conflict arise, that would be against Hungary's intentions. A well-structured code of behavior is the most important security policy rule of small countries that are living in complicated circumstances.

Bill Outlines Rules for Immigration, Residence

LD2901125793 Budapest MTI in English 1138 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Hungarian authorities are thinking of lifting the geographical limits on non-European refugees, an Interior Ministry official said on Friday. Joining the Geneva Convention in October 1989, Hungary only agreed to give shelter to refugees from European states.

Karoly Nagy, head of department in charge of foreigners' affairs, outlined a bill on foreigners' entry to, and stay in, Hungary. The bill was endorsed by the government yesterday.

The bill clearly specifies the rights and duties of foreigners in Hungary. Those arriving in the country should prove that they have funds, at present HUF [Hungarian forints] 1,000 a day, sufficient for covering their expenses here, and hold appropriate documents for return. Those invited by Hungarian private individuals and institutions prepared to cover their costs are exceptions to the rule.

Temporary residence permit holders may stay here for a period up to a year. Foreigners with a medium-term residence permit are allowed to live in Hungary for one to three years. Those who have a flat and a source of regular income may apply for an immigration permit after three years. Hungarians seeking renationalisation and foreigners wishing to settle in Hungary because of family unification need not wait for three years.

Under the bill, foreigners who arrive or stay in Hungary illegally and refuse to leave the country, may be expelled. Foreigners should not be sent back to states where they would suffer persecution on the grounds of race, creed, nationality, social status, or political belief.

Under the bill, foreigners may be deported from Hungary if they have just been released from prison, have been taken into special custody, up to five days, for a violation of the law, or their deportation is justified by the interest of law and order.

The bill is subject to approval by a two-thirds majority of Parliament, to take effect six months after promulgation. By that time, all laws required for implementation can be amended.

Government spokesperson Judit Juhasz said ministers had given a subsequent approval to the government's agreement to clear the international organisation for migration's legal status in Hungary. The agreement was signed in Budapest on April 7, 1992.

The government passed a decree to remove visa obligations between Hungary and Portugal. The agreement took effect on September 2 when the two countries exchanged notes.

Suchocka Leaves for Economic Forum in Switzerland

LD3001101193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka today left for Davos, in Switzerland, to attend an economic forum which this year is taking place under the slogan: To combine all efforts for a global economic rebuilding. The prime minister also plans on holding talks with Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk, Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

Bielecki To Be Next Ambassador to U.S.

AU2901154593 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by P. Bazylko and T. Wroblewski: "Jan Krzysztof Bielecki Polish Ambassador to the United States?"]

[Text] Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister for European integration, will shortly become the Polish ambassador in Washington, well-informed sources have told us. The final decision has not been made yet, and the former prime minister was not available to the press yesterday.

Apparently, the Washington post was previously offered to former finance ministers Andrzej Olechowski and Leszek Balcerowicz, but they both turned it down. The current ambassador in Washington, Kazimierz Dziewanowski, said last year in interviews for ZYCIE WARSZAWY and Radio "Zet" that he was ready to leave Washington. "I have already accomplished my mission," he told ZYCIE at the time.

Ambassadors are very frequently replaced at the same time as presidents in Washington. As a former prime minister and member of the Liberal-Democratic Congress, J. K. Bielecki enjoys a very high reputation among the American Democrats.

Accord Signed With Turkey on Combating Crime

LD3101150693 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—Poland and Turkey have signed an agreement on assistance in combating organized crime. The document was signed by Polish Minister of Internal Affairs Andrzej Milczanowski who concluded a three-day visit to Turkey on Sunday [31 January], and by his Turkish counterpart Ismet Sezgin.

The new agreement provides for information assistance in combating organized crime linked with the drug traffic and terrorism, Milczanowski told reporters upon his arrival at Warsaw Airport. The minister stressed that he is satisfied over cooperation with the Turkish Internal Affairs Ministry adding that there are all necessary conditions for cooperation between the countries in a number of fields.

During the Turkish visit, the Polish minister was accompanied by Head of the Office for the Protection of the State (UOP) Jerzy Konieczny and National Police Chief Zenon Smolarek.

Bonn Proposals for Solving Asylum Problem Rejected

LD3101085493 Berlin ADN in German 0332 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Poland has rejected Bonn's proposals for solving the asylum problem. The idea that Poland should take back asylum seekers who have entered Germany over its border is "unacceptable," Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski said in an ADN interview in Warsaw. Today, his country is in no way prepared to receive tens of thousands of foreigners from the Federal Republic, as envisaged in the compromise drawn up by Bonn.

Zimowski's remarks are the first concrete statement by the Polish Government on the bilateral negotiations, which began last week. Bonn offered organizational assistance if Poland accepts 40-50,000 rejected asylum seekers per year, Zimowski said, but his country could not cope with a burden of this magnitude. Warsaw is not prepared to sort out the mess Germany has got itself into. Zimowski added that the asylum issue is an all-European problem. Thus a joint solution by all states concerned will have to be found.

Commentary on Military Deal Signed With Germany

AU3101213393 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 27 Jan 93 p 1

[Commentary by L. Lech: "A Document and Life"]

[Text] The conclusion of the Polish-German agreement on military cooperation is a spectacular illustration of the breakthrough that has occurred in relations between the two countries. At the bilateral and interministerial level, this breakthrough is clearly discernible in the form of joint documents laying down a new reality in our contacts. However, to make this process complete, the language of the agreements signed by the ministers has to be translated into daily practice, inside military units, and on training grounds.

The present agreement represents a framework, i.e. it possesses an open nature. That is important, for it means that the actual substance of the agreement, apart from the provisions actually contained in it, will depend on requirements and initiatives presented at local level, especially in military units in border areas. That, in turn, guarantees that cooperation between border areas on both sides will be an authentic process. There is no need

to convince anyone that only this type of contact, stemming from a confirmation of joint democratic values and from daily needs, may form a basis of permanent links between individual soldiers, units, and national armies.

Deputy Minister Wants Visas for Eastern Citizens

AU2901170093 Warsaw PAP in English 1859 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—Deputy Interior Minister Wlodzimierz Blajerski said in an interview with PAP Tuesday [26 January] that the Interior Ministry (MSW) favoured the introduction of visas for citizens of the former USSR, the former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria, because of crimes committed by people from these states, a lack of effective cooperation with those states security services and the failure of the states concerned to introduce European criteria for distributing passports.

Blajerski explained the tougher stance by the ministry in calling for visas and not simply a registration of those invited by the "crystallization" of Mafias from the East who were committing murders, assaults and robberies in Poland.

He added that it was not true that these crimes were committed only on other people from the East.

Blajerski thought that Polish criminal gangs would be drawn into their activities as their organizational structures improved. "We want to seize control of these processes before they develop. That is our main aim," he stressed.

He argued that registration of invitations and the requirement for visas were "compatible" since the visas could be based on registered invitations.

Blajerski considered that the embryonic stage of the new republics security services made it impossible for effective cooperation in crime prevention to be undertaken, at least for the next 2 to 3 years.

The fact that citizens of the new Yugoslavia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia etc. all had old Yugoslav passports meant for Blajerski that the validity of these passports was in question. The same applied to the former USSR. The Eastern republics did not possess a centralized computer system for passports which other European countries including Poland already use.

As for Bulgarians and Romanians, they would require visas chiefly because many of them had tried to enter Germany illegally via Poland and were often turned back. This did not apply so much to citizens of the former USSR.

The planned introduction of visas would not cover the Baltic republics because that is where relatively many Poles live, said Blajerski. He added that he did not know what the reaction of other Polish ministries would be to the Interior Ministry's plans, stressing that "the cabinet must decide". Blajerski did not specify how long the visas would be introduced for but thought this depended on the possibility of future bilateral agreements with the states concerned.

Deputies, Belarusian Journalists on Minorities

WS2901133493 Warsaw SIS in Polish 1240 GMT 28 Jan 93

["Meeting of the Deputies from the Committee of Communication With Poles Abroad and the Committee of National and Ethnic Minorities With Belarusian Journalists"—SIS headline]

[Text] The deputies from the two committees met today in the Sejm with Belarusian journalists.

Amendment to the Constitution

The participants in the meeting discussed the issue of the preparation of an amendment to the Constitution which would guarantee to ethnic minorities the preservation of their national uniqueness.

Education

National minority circles are alarmed by the bill, currently in preparation, according to which schools will be taken over by local self-governments. It was stressed that the aim of the committees' activities is to solve the national minority problems in a reconciliatory manner and to obtain a similar set of rights and duties for both sides.

The hope was expressed that joint committees and subcommittees will be created which will try to solve the problem.

Registered Invitations

In connection with the influx of citizens from the Commonwealth of Independent States into Poland, estimated at approximately 9 million, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested that registered invitations be introduced for Belarusian citizens. The price of such an invitation is supposed to be approximately 1 million zlotys, which will be a serious entrance limitation for Belarusian citizens.

The Aim of Introducing the Invitations

The aim of introducing the invitations is to curb so-called trade tourism, to limit the inflow of cheap commodities from the east, and to eliminate the criminal activities of the eastern Mafia in the area [words indistinct] to adjust to the European standards as far as the solutions to the problems of national minorities are concerned.

Marian Pilka, ZChN (Christian-National Union) deputy and chairman of the Committee of National and Ethnic Minorities, brought up the problem of dismissing people of Belarusian origin from decisionmaking positions,

which is taking place in the border areas. The decision was made that this issue should be a subject of the committee's session.

Walesa Aide Dismisses Collaboration Charges

AU2901145693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jan 93 p 2

[Interview with Lech Falandysz, deputy chief of the Presidential Chancellery, by Pawel Szwed; place and date not given: "Screening Is Humbug, Touting Nonsense"]

[Text] [Szwed] Why will the question of charges of collaborating with the Polish People's Republic special services leveled against you only end up in court now rather than after 4 June 1992? After all, it became an open secret at the time that your name appeared on the so-called Macierewicz list?

[Falandysz] Public opinion did indeed become familiar with the list, and besides Macierewicz himself had counted on that. However, none of the 60 people who appeared on that list were publicly accused of being clandestine collaborators. Jan Parys did make such an accusation last week, hence my reaction.

[Szwed] Parys maintains that there is no doubt that you collaborated.

[Falandysz] We will talk about that in court.

[Szwed] What do you think about the idea of screening?

[Falandysz] First, I will remind you that the Sejm screening resolution of 28 May 1992 was deemed unlawful by the Constitutional Tribunal. Whatever I may now say about screening will be used against me—you are going to be screened, so that is why you are opposed to it. I will willingly be screened, and I am doing that now anyway, because the court case will be a kind of screening. I think that we will all go through it, that is to say, apart from me, so will Jerzy Milewski and Father Franciszek Cybula. However, the idea of screening, and I have said so always, even before I found out from Macierewicz that there was a file about me, is humbug, that is, it is touting nonsense. It is a Wunderwaffe [German word used] that Kiszczak left as part of his legacy to Macierewicz in the knowledge that Macierewicz would use those bits of paper to destroy his opponents. I will remind you of what J. M. Rokita once said: I am opposed to screening, and you will recall that I was opposed to screening in the past.

[Szwed] However, there are screening procedures not only in the postcommunist countries, but also in the old democracies.

[Falandysz] That is no argument. There are no such procedures in the West, leaving aside the fact that there was no revolution in Britain and the United States and that screening after a revolution is something entirely different from ordinary screening.

[Szwed] Nevertheless, there are precise rules that apply to those holding high office.

[Falandysz] Fine, when we become like the United States or Britain, we will think about a law of that kind.

[Szwed] What about the former GDR or Czechoslovakia?

[Falandysz] In the GDR, screening is a way of making Germans from the former GDR second class. Pastor Gauck, who is their Macierewicz, has 3,000 employees and a million people waiting in line. The Czechs, on the other hand, are proceeding in that direction simply in order to become a German Land [German word used], but that is their affair.

[Szwed] I will not even bother to ask about decommunization then.

[Falandysz] If the people, bearing arms and with Macierewicz leading them, were to storm the Internal Affairs Ministry, then that would be decommunization. Nowhere in the world has anyone managed to defeat communism using force. Is that true or not?

[Szwed] That is true, but do you mean to say that we are helpless in the face of postcommunist networks?

[Falandysz] The system stepped down without sustaining losses, with networks and with money. There is nothing that can be done about that. One can try to ease it out slowly and resolutely. I see no possibility of putting an end to it overnight.

[Szwed] How does the Kaczynski-Wachowski affair differ from that of Parys-Falandysz?

[Falandysz] In that in the case of Wachowski, it was an obvious, crudely constructed piece of slander. It merits penal sanctions. In my case, one could ultimately argue that Parys had the right to say that I am suspected of collaborating with the special services because I was on the list, but not to say that I am an agent. I cannot disregard the matter because it concerns protecting my good name.

[Szwed] But was Kaczynski's statement not harmful to Wachowski's good name?

[Falandysz] The prosecutor's office said it was more than that. The degree of public danger posed by what Kaczynski said was incomparably greater than that posed by what Parys has now been saying.

[Szwed] I do not see the difference.

[Falandysz] You do not, but I do. Wachowski was meant to have been an active officer of the Security Service, and I was only supposed to have been a collaborator. In Wachowski's case, there was not the slightest basis for such accusations, he was not on any list. It was a question of Mr. Kaczynski's personal obsession, and he had even been pursuing an investigation while he was still head of the Presidential Chancellery.

[Szwed] Parys cites the book *The Informers Are Among Us.*

[Falandysz] It's bullshit [English word used].

[Szwed] You are very aggressive.

[Falandysz] Well, write down that I am aggressive.

Kaczynski Calls Walesa 'Collaborator'

AU3101212593 Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 27 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Center Accord, by Bohdan Melka and Zofia Stachura; place and date not given: "Serious Charges, a Meaningful Silence"]

[Text] [EXPRESS WIECZORNY] You have launched a campaign to end Walesa's presidency. Why?

[Kaczynski] Because the charges to which the president does not want to respond are too serious. They cannot be passed over in silence. Walesa must answer several questions: The first is whether he was a security service agent? People are beginning to realize who "Bolek" was. We have trials now, and maybe someone will end up in prison for calling Walesa that....

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] But you should prove that these charges regarding the president are justified. In a state in which the rule of law is respected, guilt must be proven, not innocence. Are you sure that Walesa was a collaborator?

[Kaczynski] I regret to have to say this, but I have proof. I should produce it in court. If there is no trial, which is unacceptable for the president.... Well, I think that the chairman of the Supreme Court could appoint a commission to examine the relevant documents, that is, while they still exist. In addition, there are also other matter that require answers...

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] What matters?

[Kaczynski] Walesa is protecting people who were responsible for setting up and operating the previous system.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Are you sure?

[Kaczynski] Well, what other explanation is there for the failure to sign the law on pensions for former intelligence and security service employees, the defense of Admiral Kolodziejczyk, and the maintenance of the structure and people of the old order in the military and the security services?

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] There is no one who could replace them....

[Kaczynski] It is not a question of appointing students as generals. However, Walesa, who is drawing on the support of those who have been discredited to the greatest extent, is striving toward dictatorship. It would be the worst possible dictatorship because it would be a red one concealed behind a person who is a symbol.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Is Friday's [29 January] march supposed to prevent that dictatorship?

[Kaczynski] Demonstrating is a normal way of expressing views in a democracy. That is why I will be there at Trzech Krzyzy Square on Friday at 1700.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] What will happen if the demonstration gets out of the organizers' control?

[Kaczynski] I am not afraid of that. It will be a legal, peaceful march calling for new presidential elections. We want the campaign to have a legal, political character all over the country.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Are you concerned that what you will have instead of political demonstrations will be an explosion of unrest and an atmosphere of instability in the country?

[Kaczynski] These are groundless charges. We are not on the verge of a revolution.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] The Belweder [presidential residence] has shown that it can survive attacks. What if it survives again, if it remains silent....

[Kaczynski] The nervousness in Walesa's entourage shows that there will be some kind of reaction. Besides, if by making people aware of that danger, we will just prevent the president from establishing a dictatorship, then we will have succeeded.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] But what will happen if those whom you are afraid of gain the most from another "war at the top," that is, the communists?

[Kaczynski] The current state of affairs gives them the upper hand. They profit most from ownership changes, and they control the money. They could, on the one hand, become a party of great red capital or, on the other hand, a party of brazen demagogy. Of course, an attempt to dismantle the system might bring them certain gains. However, that is less obvious than in the case of preserving the old setup.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Who will try to exploit mounting discontent if the communists do not? Will you?

[Kaczynski] Bad intentions are immediately ascribed to politicians who fiercely oppose something. That kind of thinking is disastrous for democracy. I simply have a moral duty to oppose dictatorship. I cannot sustain people in the belief that everything is alright.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Do you want to say that Walesa's departure would be a cure for every problem?

[Kaczynski] It is an essential condition for normality, for embarking on a path that is long, but it will lead to the

goal. Moreover, I never said that I had a recipe for rapid improvement, if so, then only for democratization.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Will a new president "democratize and speed things up?"

[Kaczynski] In spite of everything, he can change a great deal, if he can talk to society, if he has a concept, and if he does not talk nonsense.

[EXPRESS WIECZORNY] Do you really see someone like that on the scene?

[Kaczynski] Jan Olszewski is undoubtedly a candidate for the center right who merits serious consideration. It would be premature to mention any other names.

Suchocka's 'Lost Confidence' in Dyka Viewed

AU2901173093 Warsaw PAP in English 1313 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—Polish Justice Minister Zbigniew Dyka on Tuesday [26 January] refused to comment on widespread speculation that Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has lost confidence in him.

Speculation over his future arose on Monday, when Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told him she had no confidence in one of the prosecutors appointed to investigate the dispute between Centre Accord (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski and presidential aide Mieczyslaw Wachowski, accused by Kaczynski of being an officer of the former communist security services. The prime minister gave Dyka 48 hours to resolve the matter.

The prosecutor was named in Monday's edition of GAZETA WYBORCZA as Jacek Andrzej Kaucz, who in the 1980's was involved in the prosecution of leading figures from the then-illegal Solidarity movement on behalf of the communist authorities.

In a statement to the press on Tuesday morning, Justice Ministry press officer Andrzej Niewielski said that the appointment of Kaucz had been made by the Warsaw prosecutor's office, in accordance with normal working practice. The minister had not been personally involved.

Niewielski added that Dyka would make a statement in the near future on the actions taken to ensure that there could be no doubts as to the objectivity of appointments made to conduct investigations into the Kaczynski-Wachowski case.

Niewielski also said that he had no personal doubts concerning Kaucz, who had passed a process of vetting in 1990, and dismissed suggestions that Kaucz's involvement in legal investigations into the "Art-B" financial scandal suggested that the procurator had the confidence of President Lech Walesa. President Walesa has frequently voiced his personal support for full investigation into alleged economic and financial fraud cases in Poland.

"The fact that prosecutor Kaucz was involved in the 'Art-B' investigations suggests to me only that he is an excellent prosecutor for such economic matters," Niewielski said.

Dyka's party colleagues in the Christian-National Union (ZChN) came to his defence on Tuesday. ZChN chairman Wieslaw Chrzanowski, who is also speaker of the Sejm (lower house), said that the ZChN would seek to ensure that it retained the justice portfolio, which was allocated to the party during the negotiations which preceded the formation of the Suchocka cabinet in July 1992.

Chrzanowski said: "We will seek to ensure that Dyka clarifies things. We cannot pre-judge whether Dyka has made a mistake, or whether this is a pretext for certain objectives." He also noted that Dyka is not the only minister under attack, citing the numerous parliamentary confidence votes against head of the Cabinet Office Jan Maria Rokita and Minister of Privatization Janusz Lewandowski.

Senate Passes Anti-Abortion Bill by One Vote

LD3001202193 Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 30—The Senate Saturday [30 January] approved the new Anti-Abortion Law without introducing any changes to the text passed by the Sejm (lower house) on 7 January. The Sejm version, less strict than the original Senate draft titled "On the protection of conceived life", was today upheld by 35 votes against 34, with 20 abstentions.

For more than three hours Saturday the upper house voted on several amendments to the Sejm text, titled "Law on family planning, protection of the human foetus and conditions justifying abortion". Some of the amendments were approved, but others were rejected, each in a separate vote. The result was that both sides to the ongoing controversy over how strict the Anti-Abortion Law should be found the emerging new shape of the law unacceptable. Consequently, in a final vote the Senate decided not to approve the law as amended today and upheld the Sejm text without any changes. Fifty-seven senators supported this decision, 26 were against, and 7 abstained.

The law is far more restrictive than the legislation it replaces passed in 1956. Abortion is allowed only when mother's life or health is seriously threatened, tests show that the fetus is badly deformed or the pregnancy results from rape. Doctors performing abortions under circumstances other than those allowed face prison terms of up to two years. Moreover, abortions can only be performed in public hospitals, not in private clinics.

The law clearly is a compromise that satifies neither the advocates of a total ban on abortions nor those favouring less rigid conditions of legality of abortions.

The persisting controversy was highlighted during today's Senate session when an amendment under which abortion could also be performed because of the mother's difficult overall situation was overturned by 44 votes against 44, with 1 abstention.

Foreign Debt Reported To Be Down From 1991

LD2901204593 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The Polish foreign debt stood at 46.9 bn [billion] dollars at the end of last November and was lower by 1.5 bn than at the end of 1991, the Main Statistical Office (GUS) reported Friday [29 January].

The fall in indebtedness came as a result of writing off parts of the official debt by Germany and Sweden (0.9 bn dollars) in execution of the Paris Accords on rescheduling and reduction of the Polish debt to Western governments, and shifts in exchange rates of the main Western currencies (1.4 bn). During the same period interest on the principal increased by 0.9 bn dollars.

Poland recorded a deficit of 36 m [million] dollars on her current account after 11 months of last year against a deficit of 1,359 bn dollars a year ago. According to estimates by the National Bank of Poland, export revenue during the 11 months to November, 1992, reached 12,681 m dollars, while spending on imports reached 11,947 m.

Gasoline, Diesel Prices Set To Rise 8 Percent

LD2901134593 Warsaw PAP in English 1331 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—Gasoline and diesel oil prices will go up by 600 zlotys (28 U.S cents) as of February 1. The 8 per cent price hike is due to a rise in turnover tax on liquid fuels. Increased traffic was observed at filling stations on Friday [29 January] where customers waited in long lines to buy full tanks of petrol.

Foreign Ministry Consultations With Romania End

LD2801160893 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, January 28 (MTI)—The consultation between Romanian and Hungarian Foreign Ministry experts, the first since the government reshuffle of last autumn, came to an end in Bucharest on Thursday [28 January]. The previous such meeting was in June 1992.

The head of the Hungarian negotiating group, Ferenc Szocs, detailed to Hungarian reporters the two main topics discussed.

"On reviewing implementation of the cooperation aid-memoire signed by state secretaries Tamas Katona and Teodor Melescanu in May last year, we found that a third of the provisions had already been realized, another third showed some progress, while the remainder were at a stalemate.

"We agreed to systematically survey the accord which covers the whole of bilateral ties," Szocs said.

Answering questions, he said the Romanian side had notified the Hungarian guests of Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu after having met leading officials from the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania. The Hungarian side indicated it finds it natural for the legitimate representatives of Romania's Hungarian community to participate in preparing the basic treaty.

There was mutual agreement for high-level meetings likely to yield concrete results.

Israel Claims Spiroiu Signed Major Military Deals

AU0102105493 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 27 Jan 93 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Soviet-Made Romanian Tanks To Be Modernized by Israel]

[Text] "Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu is the first member of the current Romanian Government and the first Romanian defense minister who has paid an official visit—last week—to Israel," Radio Free Europe correspondent Jean Steiger reported.

"One Israeli daily claims that Romanian and Israeli military equipment industries have signed a contract worth $300 million, intended to modernize the MiG-21-type fighter planes of the Romanian Air Force. Another [Israeli] daily mentioned last Friday [22 January] that the Romanian defense minister's visit is meant to bolster the implementation of another contract that had been signed by the former head of the [Israeli] chief of staff, currently holding the presidential office of the Israeli military industry. According to the daily, the over $1 billion contract, spanning a 10-year period, refers to the modernization of the Romanian forces' T-55 and T-72-type tanks, manufactured according to the similar Soviet model.

"Before concluding his visit and returning to Bucharest, Lieutenant General Spiroiu stated, with respect to the Israeli dailies' claims, that he does not deal with such issues, which according to him, are in the competence of the Romanian industry minister.

"The Romanian minister conveyed to Prime Minister Rabin the invitation of President Iliescu and Prime Minister Vacaroiu, asking him to visit in Romania."

Barges Held in Orsova Due to UN Embargo Listed

AU2901142793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Firmly observing the stipulations of UN Security Council Resolution 787, which was promptly adopted by the Romanian Government, the Romanian Danube river authorities have denied transit to a number of convoys sailing with incomplete or contradicting documents.

Related to that issue, Dan Florin Pircalabescu, an official in the Orsova Harbor Master's Office, said that the tugboat Botosani and its four barges loaded with soybeans for Bosnia and Hercegovina are detained in that port. The Orsova Customs Office has decided to keep those vessels there until the situation is cleared up, that is, until the UN mission delegate acting in that zone authorizes the departure. In the same port and in a similar situation are four other barges—bearing the numbers 200081, 20018, 20040, and 200122—which are loaded with rolled iron products, the official said.

Help Requested To Stop Violations

AU2901151493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] In connection with the Danube crisis regarding the embargo against Yugoslavia, Mr. Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the presidency, said that the Romanian Government is determined to act with maximum responsibility and take most appropriate steps to solve the very serious situation created in the wake of the forceful violation of this embargo. The Romanian Government is extremely worried that our country cannot observe, for objective reasons, the international obligations it has assumed in connection the observation of the embargo. However, he said, the responsibility also devolves on other countries with or without access to the Danube. Therefore, diplomatic endeavors will be made to convince other countries, too, to help to stop embargo violations at their source, Mr. Traian Chebeleu said.

Melescanu Wants UN Aid

AU2901183993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] In an interview with our radio correspondent, Mr. Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs, said that the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs intends to send another note to the UN Security Council asking for this international forum to adopt a firmer stand in this matter and to grant assistance to our country, particularly means of intervention and prevention of the effects that the implementation of the threats of spilling oil into the Danube River may have for the water supply of the localities on the Danube. This new initiative will be coupled with diplomatic contacts with the EEC, where our emissaries will present the actions taken by Romania to stop the embargo violations and the hardships with which it had to cope, to point out the fact that this is a problem of international dimensions.

Promises To End Embargo Violations

AU2901210393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2032 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1993—In a press release given Friday, 29 January by Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, he assessed that the declaration of the president of the UN Security Council in connection with actions by Yugoslav ships that violate the embargo, a declaration issued subsequent to Romania's complaints, to which Bulgaria also adhered, has the great merit of bringing to the knowledge of the international community the very grave form the embargo violation actions on the Danube are assuming. It is very well that the necessity is spelt out for all the Danube states and for all the others from whose ports petrol shipments leave, to cooperate for preventing such actions in future, the chief of the Romanian diplomacy said.

"As far as we are concerned, we further intend to take all the steps incumbent on us to put an end to these embargo violations. Likewise, over the following days we shall be in the position to submit to the UN Security Council a complaint, informing of the already known facts, in detail, substantiated by video-recordings and tapes apt to demonstrate the actions taken by the Romanian authorities and the difficulties encountered in the enforcement of the embargo, and also making very concrete requests: We would like the UN Security Council and its president to take a much firmer stance on the necessity that all countries should adopt the measures incumbent on them so as not to permit, favour, or even determine such embargo violation actions."

The Romanian foreign minister specified that a monitoring mission would leave for the Ukraine in the next few days for bilateral consultations with the Ukraine on the subject, at the level of customs and frontier police authorities.

A second chapter, also very important, that we should like to see reflected in a resolution of the UN Security Council, Mr. Melescanu further said, is the as concretely stated as possible obligation to assist Romania, first with means of intervention and secondly with technical expertise for forestalling or limiting the extremely serious consequences threats like those voiced by a Yugoslav ship captain might cause if put into practice, that is the emptying into the Danube of petrol or other such like actions. This is not just a theoretical aspect of the problem, it is one of great practical importance, because all the Romanian towns on the Danube or close to it have the Danube as their sole source of water. The slightest disbalance or water pollution, to say nothing of pollution the emptying of so many barges could cause, would practically place the Romanian river towns in an impossible situation and they are not few in number."

Mr. Melescanu informed that the complaint Romania was going to forward to the UN Security Council would also request assistance for the enforcement of the concrete actions of stoppage, of embargo observance, but also measures ready to help this country if, pursuant to an intervention, the consequences were of such magnitude as shown above. The minister said Romania's requests have already got favourable response through offers of speed boats apt to reconnoiter the course of the Danube. Unfortunately, the minister said, the sources of these offers are geographically far from Romania, which poses practical difficulties, the minister said.

Spokesman Focuses on 'Complex Situation' on Danube

AU2901191493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1802 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/1/1993—The Friday, January 29 news conference of presidential spokesman and adviser Traian Chebeleu had as a main topic Romania's position regarding the complex situation on the Danube as a result of the repeated breach of the UN sanctions by Serbian barge-trains.

Characterizing the situation as "extremely delicate and complex" Traian Chebeleu opined that "all the decision makers involved will have to act with utmost responsibility," pointing out that "President Iliescu is extremely concerned" as "Romania is in the situation of failing to observe an international obligation." But, Mr. Chebeleu continued, that obligation is equally incumbent on Bulgaria and Ukraine.

Expressing hope that the problems on the Danube—for whose solution diplomatic efforts are being made uninterruptedly—would not impair Romania's relations with the West European states and would not have any influence on Romania's being received as a member in the Council of Europe, spokesman Chebeleu stated that "the Romanian Government will do everything the Romanian and international laws permit, short of using military force to stop the convoys."

Also—he added—the Romanian authorities are taking the necessary measures to sue the captain of the first convoy who broke the Romanian law by using blackmail.

Then spokesman Chebeleu answered questions on the matter of the citizenship of ex-King Mihai I, on the government's propositions to that effect, on Romania's relations with the Republic of Moldova, on President Iliescu's visit to Cernavoda and mentioned a possible meeting not too far in future between Presidents Iliescu and Mircea Snegur.

It is an unhappy thing, spokesman Chebeleu stated, that the Bucharest Prosecutor's Office lawsuit against Doina Cornea coincided with Romania's desire to adhere to the Council of Europe. "I hope it is only a coincidence," he said.

Convoy Passes Bechet, Ignores Orders To Stop

AU2901125493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] The Yugoslav tugboat Kaimak-Chalan and its convoy of nine oil-tanker barges passed this morning by the port of Bechet, situated at kilometer 679 on the Danube.

Our reporters said that Alexandru Baragan, the Bechet port captain, has insistently tried to contact the Yugoslav commander of the convoy, but, similarly to previous cases, he was offered no answer. The convoy has exited the Bechet port area and is progressing upstream on the Danube.

Communique on FRY Convoys Issued

AU2901212593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] In connection with the situation on the Danube River and the nonobservation of Resolutions 757/1992 and 784/1992 of the UN Security Council, the press service of the Ministry of Interior sent us the following communique:

During 29 January 1993, the Romanian port, customs, and border authorities continued their actions to intercept and halt the convoys of vessels under Yugoslav banner sailing with their oil cargo up the Danube River in violation of the embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—that is, Serbia and Montenegro. All available means were used in the port of Calafat today to stop the Velebit tug and its 10 barges. The actions of the group of coastal guard ships, police helicopters, and port authority and customs organs, undertaken by a port authority vessel and several coastal guard speedboats, continued even after the convoy left the port area. Repeated warnings were sent to the convoy in an attempt to stop it. All efforts to impose the observation of the embargo were followed and confirmed on the spot by special envoys of Romanian and foreign news agencies and by a large number of journalists present in the area.

We point out that the Velebit tug and its accompanying 10 barges was also summoned and insistently warned to stop at Braila along the 250-km long route of inner Danube River and in the entire Romanian-Bulgarian sector of the Danube River. Like the other two Yugoslav vessels, which—on the nights of 26 January and 27 January, respectively—were warned to obey the actions designed to ensure the observation of the embargo, the Velebit tug also ignored the appeals and warnings of the Romanian port, customs, and border authorities.

At 1300, the Velebit vessel and its 10 barges were already in Yugoslav territorial waters at kilometer 851.

The commander of the National Border Guard Command, Major General Dumitru Luca, is present in Calafat port. Together with the port and customs authority organs, he is trying to intercept and halt the other convoys, which at 1800 were situated as follows: the Kajmak-Chalan tug with 10 barges at kilometer 720, Bistret locality and the Kumanovo tug with 12 barges at kilometer 710, Dunareni locality. These convoys are under constant surveillance, with coast guard vessels accompanying them and calling upon them by radio, loudspeakers, or international code signals to stop and come alongside the Romanian quay. At the same time, police helicopters are flying over the entire course, while port authority motorboats are launching repeated appeals to the convoys to halt. Likewise, along the entire river course, border units have ensured a permanent system of monitoring the movement of all vessels on the Danube River, particularly the Yugoslav vessels, to report to the decisionmaking organs on the their progress.

We emphasize that, in all actions undertaken, the concern has been and is to prevent the loss of human lives and to avoid an ecological catastrophe, the communique received from the Ministry of Interior concludes.

Last Serbian Tugboat Passes Port Without Halting

AU3001145293 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] This morning at 0640, the Yugoslav convoy led by the tugboat Kumanovo forced its way through the port of Calafat. Our correspondent Cornel Sorescu was informed by the duty officer at the Calafat Port Master's Office, Doru Trandafir, that this convoy was the largest one, which included 12 transportation units carrying oil products.

Upon being hailed by radio, light signals, and calls on a bullhorn of the Romanian port authorities and border guards, the commander of the Yugoslav ship did not answer in any way and continued its illegal journey toward Serbian territorial waters.

This is the last convoy of the five convoys that have sailed the Danube River in the Romanian zone.

At the end of the incident this morning General Mayor Dumitru Luca, commander of the National Command of the Romanian Border Guards held a news conference that was attended by numerous reporters from various publications and radio correspondents.

On that occasion Major General Luca emphasized the decisive measures taken by the Romanian border guards, the Port Master's Office, and customs offices to stop the convoys in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council, but they were systematically ignored by the commanders of the tugboats Bihac, Orasac, Velebit, Kaimak-Chalan, and Kumanovo—a situation that numerous reporters who were present in the area this week could see for themselves.

Major General Dumitru Luca expressed determination to take all possible measures to avoid a similar situation in the future and mentioned that for this purpose Romania needs technological support from the United Nations, a request that was already forwarded some time ago.

Attempts To Stop Tugboats Fail

AU3001153893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1420 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/1/1993—Saturday [30 January] morning, another two Yugoslav ships, Kaymak-Chalan, towing 10 barges (04:10 am) and Kumanovo, towing 12 barges (06:10 am) loaded with diesel oil in the Port of Reni (Ukraine) passed Calafat Port, heading up the Danube.

Actions to stop the ships, in bad weather condition, with heavy snow falls and storm, were led by commander in chief of the National Boarder Guard Command, Major-General Dumitru Luca, who also mobilized intervention forces.

Starting 20 km downstream of Calafat, the two convoys were intercepted by coast guards motorboats and flanked by ships. Repeated calls to stop were made through speaking trumpet and by radio and various signaling systems were used. Defying any requests to stop, the ships headed at full speed up the Danube, nearing the Serbian Port of Prahovo.

According to General Dumitru Luca, who made a statement to a ROMPRES news agency correspondent, on Friday and Saturday all measures were enforced in Calafat, which had been recommended on Thursday evening's meeting of Romanian and Bulgarian border authorities, of the captains of the two ports of Vidin and Calafat, of customs authorities on both banks of the Danube, a meeting attended also by two UN experts in Romania to assist and monitor the observance of the embargo over Yugoslavia, as well as by the secretary of the Embassy of the United States in Bucharest. The efforts were unsuccessful, so starting Tuesday and until Saturday, five convoys of ships passed through the Port of Calafat, that is the Bihac, Orosak, Velebit, Kaymak-Chalan and Kumanovo ships, towing a total of 40 barges. General Dumitru Luca said that the Yugoslavs threatened to foul the Danube's waters, which would have had serious consequences in the water supply of the localities on both banks of the Danube, with immediate or long-term effects life in the area and in the Danube Delta. "At this time we are holding no information on other ships loaded with diesel oil heading for Yugoslavia. I consider that solutions must be found to prevent the ships' supplying with oil in the port of Reni or elsewhere, because it is much easier to stop them there, in a direct way and create necessary conditions for the observance of the embargo."

Yugoslav Ships Try To Block Danube Sluice

AU3101172893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1710 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1993—A communique conveyed to ROMPRES by the Romanian Ministry of the Interior announces that in the night of 30-31 January, push-boat Bihac and five barges loaded with petroleum products requested the Portile de Fier II (Iron Gates) Hydropower System Monitoring Service to allow the passage of the convoy upstream. (As previously announced, the other day the convoy had reached Yugoslav territorial waters). As traffic monitors refused to open the gate, the commander of the Bihac dropped anchor about 30 meters off the gate, blocking the access of other vessels through the sluice. Although insistently asked to leave the place, he threatened he would not move away unless his convoy was allowed to pass.

Around 0240 hours local time, summoned by the Romanian Customs, Port and Frontier Police authorities, the ship commander produced the cargo and crew lists. According to the documents, the ship was bound for Smederevo, Yugoslav port of destination, and was carrying 3,040 tonnes of petrol and 2,700 tonnes of fuel oil.

Arrived at the site today were the commander of Frontier Guards High Command, the chief of the General Police Inspectorate, and the deputy of the commander of gendarme troops, to establish the actions to be taken to free the gate.

Pursuant to the resolute steps taken by units of the Ministry of the Interior assisted by port and customs authorities, deblocking maneuvers started Sunday, 31 January at 16:45 hours, when the convoy withdrew about 1 kilometer downstream to the berthing place for ships awaiting sluicing.

Yugoslav Barges Abandoned

AU0102085493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0844 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 1/2/1993—The traffic on the Danube by the Iron Gates II, where the two water gates are, is running normal this morning, February 1. The five barges loaded with oil products, towed by the

Yugoslav ship Bihac, that had requested passage for itself and the barges upstream the river, request not granted by the Romanian authorities, were abandoned on the Danube. The tow-boat withdrew to a Yugoslav port.

Delegation Leaves for Council of Europe

AU3101150793 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] A Romanian parliamentary delegation, led by Senator Florea Dudita, left this morning for Strasbourg where it will plead the cause of Romania's admittance to the Council of Europe.

In a statement made before departure, the head of the delegation stressed that this is the first permanent delegation of the Romanian Parliament to be sent since the 27 September 1992 elections, and in general it reflects the structure of the political formations that are represented in the Parliament.

Our major mission, Mr. Dudita said, is to do all we can to speed up the procedure of Romania's acceptance as a member with full rights in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. In this respect, I believe that we will be able to advance an unconditioned affirmative answer, although it seems that at least one member of our delegation will pronounce a conditioned "yes." The head of the Romanian delegation expressed his confidence that ultimately the wisdom and reason of all the members will triumph.

Funar Accuses UDMR, Discusses Privatization

AU2901120193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0807 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/1/1993—"The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] does not number hard-liners and moderates but Hungarians wanting to annex Transylvania to Hungary," Gheorghe Funar, chairman of the Romanian National Unity Party, [PUNR], told a Thursday, January 28 press conference.

The PUNR leader mentioned that the party he is head of would ask President Ion Iliescu to clearly tell his position as regards the documents of the recent [15-17 January] UDMR congress. He added that PUNR would also demand the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest to correctly inform the American public opinion, the U.S. Congress, on what is going on in the Transylvanian town of Cluj-Napoca.

As for the reform and the privatization processes, details were given on the management-employees privatization method, which, in the opinion of this party, should be combined with some other forms of privatization. "Fabulous" figures were presented on the latent capital in the country, "aggressed by inflation." PUNR intends to promote a legislative act on the one billion vouchers (on the basis of which part of the state-owned property is going to be transferred to the population), left without owners, due to the latter's [state's] negligence. In PUNR's opinion they should be used by foundations under the aegis of the Health Ministry, the Education Ministry, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection."

Vacaroiu, IMF Delegate Discuss Financial Program

AU2801213593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2042 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 28/1/1993—Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu received Thursday, January 28, a delegation of the IMF headed by Maxwell Watson, now on a fact-finding visit to Romania intended for the 1993 financial programme's preparation.

Premier Vacaroiu made a brief survey of the current situation in the economy and of the transition's difficulties, underscoring that the package of laws adopted by the executive was a priority legislation intended for the support of the reform's consolidation and continuation.

The IMF experts—who showed interest for the policies on credits, prices and hard currency exchange rate, on social protection measures in the context of diminishing and canceled subsidies, on the evolution of the reform process—pointed out that the progress of the reform and the economy's restructuring were sure to de-block external financial resources.

Attending the interview were Minister of State Florin Georgescu, finance minister, and governor of the National Bank of Romania Mugur Isarescu.

Izetbegovic Returns From Geneva, Makes Statement

LD3101235393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Upon his return to Sarajevo, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, made a statement for the Bosnian media, explaining the stands of our delegation at the Geneva talks on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Unidentified second announcer] The document on constitutional principles, which was also signed by our delegation, confirms the continuity of the statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The proposed maps did not respect that basic demand put forward at the London conference, hence the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation could not accept them.

During the penultimate day of the Geneva clash [as heard], our delegation submitted to the cochairmen a map of a possible division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into provinces. This map takes into account the geographical, economic, historical, transport, and ethnic elements of such a territorial division. However, this map differs considerably from the maps proposed by Vance and Owen. We have done this so that such a map of a future decentralized Bosnia-Hercegovina stays as a document in the archives of the Geneva conference. People should know what Bosnia-Hercegovina had to offer.

This was map number one. In the other map, we presented a minimum below which we cannot go. The Vance-Owen map legalizes the ethnic principle brought about by the use of force and arms; hence it is unacceptable for moral, principled, and practical reasons, President Izetbegovic said.

On the penultimate day of the meeting in Geneva, we reiterated the demand that Brcko becomes part of Tuzla province. The status of Janja is unacceptable. Parts of the eastern part of the Tesic municipality and a narrow strip by the Drina River are also disputed.

The military document is unacceptable because it does not specify that heavy weapons must be placed under efficient international control. Such a document cannot be signed unless very precise and firm guarantees are given that, once removed, heavy weapons can no longer be used for aggressive purposes.

I had a meeting about this with Gen Nambiar [UNPROFOR commander] in Zagreb today. We expect a written reply to our requests soon, President Izetbegovic said.

I shall not go to a Security Council session in New York, Izetbegovic stated upon his return to Sarajevo. Our delegation will be led by Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, who, together with our diplomatic representatives, will surely present our stands successfully. I think that things are quiet clear. There are numerous Security Council resolutions on Bosnia-Hercegovina, which state clearly that ethnic cleansing cannot be accepted and used as a basis on which to build the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is also quite obvious that the Security Council stand is clear on the need to place heavy weapons under international control.

Our delegation will base its stands in New York on Resolutions 752 and 757. Finally, our destiny is being resolved here in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we ought to be here, Izetbegovic stated upon his return to Sarajevo.

Explains Failure of Talks

LD3101174893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic held a news conference after arriving in Zagreb from Geneva to explain why his delegation did not sign two out of three proposed Geneva documents. We could not have accepted the maps of future provinces because large areas where ethnic cleansing was carried out would stay under the control of the army which carried out the cleansing, Izetbegovic said. The contested areas are: the municipalities of Prijedor, Kljuc, and Sanski Most, which should be part of Bihac province; the municipality of Brcko, which should be part of Tuzla province; the town of Janja, which should belong to Tuzla province; the area separating Sandzak from Bosnia-Hercegovina; and the eastern part of the Teslic municipalities, where Croats and Muslims live. Brcko is the biggest slaughterhouse in this war, and under no conditions will we accept that it becomes a Serbian province, Izetbegovic stressed. The Muslim delegation submitted to the cochairmen two proposals on territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The first map—the real one, as Izetbegovic called it—shows a logical distribution of provinces in line with geographical, economic, and communication criteria; the second makes necessary corrections to the delineation plan. The second document, the peace treaty, was not signed because it did not specify what would happen to heavy weapons in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said. Heavy weapons must be put under UN supervision, otherwise the treaty, like the previous ones, will come to nothing due to different interpretations.

Government Requests Security Council Session

LD3102235693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government has sent a letter to the UN Security Council from a session chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Zlatko Lagundzija. The letter requests an urgent session of the Security Council.

The letter stresses that it is expected that appropriate decisions will be made and that measures will be undertaken against the unabating aggression on the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on the genocide, the violations

of the international sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, and the hampering of humanitarian aid to the Bosnia-Hercegovina population, especially in endangered areas.

Karadzic, Buha Outline Proposals for Council

LD3101111693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1035 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 31 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Saturday [30 January] night that the Serbian side was willing to hand over Sarajevo to the United Nations.

Karadzic told REUTERS television upon his return to Belgrade from the peace talks in Geneva that he would offer new details about handing over Sarajevo at the next Security Council session on Bosnia.

After the partial success of the plenary meeting of the peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Geneva on Saturday, the leaders of the three warring factions—Moslems, Serbs, and Croats—will leave for New York on Wednesday to set out their stands on ways to resolve the crisis in Bosnia in the Security Council.

Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said on Saturday that, at the Security Council session, the Serbian side would propose an ending of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, freezing of the situation on the fronts and deployment of international observers who would monitor primarily the Serbian artillery.

In a statement to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Buha said the Serbian side would also set out a plan on separating the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

On the disputed territories in the proposed division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten provinces, the Serbian side will insist that citizens decide by plebiscite or referendum in which province they want to live, said Buha, who was a member of the Bosnian Serb delegation at the Geneva negotiations.

Rejection of Bosnian Peace Plan Viewed

LD3001195793 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] The Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order of Bosnia-Hercegovina today rejected the concept of provinces in favor of a civic state in which nations would not be able to realize their constitutional rights through their own territories.

It is quite clear from this why the Muslims rejected the package of peace proposals in Geneva. The Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order—and it is not quite clear whom it protects—discussed the position of the Herceg-Bosna Croatian community. If we take into account the fact that republican Public Prosecutor Zdravko Knezevic; Sefer Halilovic, chief of the general staff of the Muslim army; and Jusuf Kusina, minister of internal affairs, took part in the meeting, it is not surprising that Herceg-Bosna is unacceptable to them, as are Croatian attempts to define the framework of their authority in the provinces due to them according to the Vance-Owen plan.

Although the latest events and crude attacks on the Croatian people in central Bosnia lead one to draw certain conclusions about the direction some Muslim leaders are taking, all cards are now on the table and all that remains to be done is to wait, well prepared for all future acts of aggression.

'Serb Gunners' Kill Nine at Sarajevo Hospital

AU0102091693 Paris AFP in English 0754 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 1 (AFP)—Nine people died and 55 were wounded Sunday [31 January] when Serb gunners pounded Sarajevo's Kosevo Hospital and the old town, Sarajevo hospitals and the morgue reported Monday.

Twenty-nine of the wounded were Bosnian Army soldiers.

The shelling of the Kosevo Hospital complex in the early afternoon lasted two hours, and the old town and its hillside suburbs were shelled all day. Some 50,000 of Sarajevo's depleted population of some 350,000 live there.

Sarajevo radio reported some firing in other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but a truce in the central area where mainly Moslem Bosnian Army troops had been fighting Croat militias appeared to be holding.

A government meeting Sunday under the chairmanship of Vice President Zlatko Lagumdzija decided to ask the U.N. Security Council to study continued "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

That was taken to be a reference to the situation in Trebinje, in the southeast, from which thousands of Moslems are reported to have been forced to flee into nearby Montenegro.

UN Says Hospital Used as 'Shield'

AU0102125693 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 1 (AFP)—The U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Sarajevo spotted a Bosnian Army 83-mm mortar within the grounds of the Kosevo Hospital which fired nine rounds on January 5 at Serb forces "using the hospital as a shield," UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer disclosed Monday [1 February].

The mortar rounds drew return artillery and mortar fire on the hospital from the Serb gunners on surrounding mountainsides attempting "to neutralise that particular problem," he said.

On that day, said Frewer, a Canadian navy commander, he believed the Serb fire caused only material damage to the hospital, which lies in the heart of this valley-floor city and treats a constant flow of civilians wounded by the daily shelling from the surrounding Serb forces.

Frewer said that French General Philippe Morillon, the UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina, immediately lodged "the strongest condemnation" with President Alija Izetbegovic, protesting that the mortar emplacement contravened the Geneva convention on the rules of war.

The hospital complex came under heavy bombardment again Sunday, with two killed and seven wounded.

Frewer said he was unaware whether any guns had been firing from the complex Sunday, but pointed out that the Serb commanders "have maintained that each time there is firing from the hospital they will challenge it and fire back."

Other incidents of gunfire from the hospital complex had been reported to the UNPROFOR before January 5, he said, but that particular day the firing was verified by an UNPROFOR member on the scene.

"We had suspected and had reports prior to that, that there were mortars being set up in that area, and we finally witnessed it on that particular date," he said.

UNHCR Claims Croats Blocking Aid Convoys

LD2901164093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 29 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 29 (TANJUG)—Croat troops have blocked humanitarian convoys in the central part of Bosnia-Hercegovina, spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sylvana Foa said in Geneva on Friday [29 January].

The only aid which has reached Sarajevo since Monday is that from the Yugoslav capital of Belgrade, the ASSOCIATED PRESS quoted Foa as saying.

The spokeswoman accused Bosnian Croats of continually hindering the delivery of humanitarian aid. She added that Croats have now begun to block roads.

As a result of the fighting around the Bosnian towns of Gornji Vakuf and Busovaca, where Croats and Moslems have been engaged in clashes over the past two weeks, efforts of the UNHCR to deliver fuel and coal to Sarajevo have failed, said Foa.

Unlike Croats, Bosnian Serbs are cooperating with the UNHCR, said Foa.

After Croatia's latest attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which is under UNPROFOR protection, it has become highly difficult to deliver supplies for around (,000 [figure as received] refugees from the areas attacked by the Croatian Army, said Foa.

"We have food and other basic products to keep alive 5,000 people for another week," she said.

According to reports available in the RSK, at least 830 Serb civilians and 150 policemen have been killed during the Croatian aggression, which began last Friday, while more than 10,000 people, mostly women, children and old people, have fled their homes.

Muslims Reportedly Hit Dutch Headquarters

LD2901165993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpt] At 1530 Muslim artillery hit the headquarters of the the Dutch battalion of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Busovaca, stated Dario Kordic, vice president of the Croatian Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, adding that it is expected that there are casualties. He said that the Muslim forces today violated the cease-fire on two occasions, this morning with a cannon attack on the Croatian village of Bare, and at about 1500 on the town of Busovaca itself, the village of Polje, and the barracks of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The HVO units observed the cease-fire and did not respond. One HVO member was killed and four wounded. In Busovaca it is quiet at the moment, Dario Kordic reported. [passage omitted]

Non-Serbs Allegedly Pressured To Leave Trebinje

AU2901180093 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 93 p 9

[Report by Dragan Banjac: "Only Serbs in Hercegovina]

[Excerpts] Meager, contradictory, and alarming news has recently been coming out of Trebinje that friendly relations between local Serbs and Muslims has ended. Until recently, one was able to speak about a special loyalty that the minority Muslim population—determined to stay in the commune—displayed everywhere. It is no secret that proportionally more Muslims Serbs responded to the mobilization than the majority of Serbs. Unfortunately this was not enough. [passage omitted]

Columns of buses belonging to the local firm (Trebinjetrans) have already arrived in Rozaj [Montenegro] with some 200 Muslims. From there they will continue their journey to Denmark, after they pay 280 German marks. [passage omitted]

In the last few days there was strange "order" and suspense in the town. The authorities only failed to spot independent groups that carried out preparations for the final persecution of the Muslim population with well-proven methods (threats, blackmail, robbery, violence, and moving into better houses). The better informed

claim that this was not done by local boys, but by "specially trained people from Nevesinje, Gacko, Bileca, or Montenegro." The famous Bey's House, the house of the last bey family Resulbegovic and an old museum, was set ablaze. A few days ago, the Osman-pasa mosque in the old town was also in flames. Old city families with deep roots are a special target. The people who settled there recently have so far been spared. The next in line are the Croats and the "half casts." They will be followed by Serbs—first, those whose members of the family have fled to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and then those who do not agree with this policy and who protect "foreigners."

The first victim among "honest Serbs" has already fallen. Defending his friend Alen (a Muslim and orphan), Srdjan Aleksic, an amateur actor that was recently received with ovations at the festival in Vranje, was beaten up. After clinging to life for several days, he died in a Trebinje hospital the night before last. Everyone is a target of cleansing. Safket Arslanagic (former director of the school of economics) lost his job as a mathematics teacher in the school center (at the request of three students), as did Jasna Hadzovic and many others. [passage omitted]

Trebinje Official Denies Charge

LD3101133093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0951 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Trebinje, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Bozidar Vucurevic, president of the Trebinje municipal assembly, stressed in his public address today that there was and is no ethnic cleansing in the Trebinje area. Without denying the fact that many Muslim families have left the municipality, Vucurevic stated that the municipal authorities will provide personal safety and will secure the property of all Muslims wishing to stay.

It was for this purpose that a special unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Hercegovina) was brought in, Vucurevic said.

"The emigration of Muslims from Trebinje cannot be compared to the fate of Serbs who lived in Mostar, Konjic, Sarajevo, Zenica and other towns," the president of the Trebinje municipality added.

In Vucurevic's opinion, there are many reasons for the Muslim emigration. "A large number of refugees from other municipalities, whose relatives were killed and property destroyed by ustasha forces [during World War II], moved to the Trebinje municipality. Those people find it hard to understand that it is possible for Serbs and Muslims to live together as they always have done in Trebinje," he said.

Vucurevic noted frequent raids into the municipality by war profiteers who indulge in stealinmg and spreading terror among residents.

"However, the emigration of Muslims from Trebinje has also been influenced by the dangerous policy of [Bosnian president] Alija Izetbegovic. Muslims do not venture into the unknown. It has been discovered that reception centers have been opened in Rozaj [Montenegro], from where Muslims are sent to various places according to the Party of Democratic Action plans," Bozidar Vucurevic said.

Serb Army Opens Corridor for Muslim Refugees

LD3101125093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Zvornik, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The command of the Drina Corps of the Serb Republic Army today decided—for humanitarian reasons and above all to help young Muslim children—to open a special corridor.

All those who so wish will be able to go from the direction of Cerska via Kamenica to Kalesija or to any other destination of their choice and in this way escape from the terror of their own commanders.

The first group of about 100 Muslim civilians passed through the corridor at about midnight safely and set off toward Kalesija of their own free will, Major Vinko Pandurevic, commander of the Zvornik garrison of the Serb Republic Army, told TANJUG's reporter.

"We are also prepared, while observing all provisions of international law, to ensure the adequate treatment of Muslim soldiers—of course, if they surrender their arms," Pandurevic stressed.

Col. Milenko Zivanovic, commander of the Drina Corps of the Serb Republic Army, told TANJUG that despite the mass crimes which Muslims have committed against Serbs in this war, Serbs are again confirming their humane stand.

We guarantee to honest Muslim people that they can leave if they so wish, with our full protection. All innocent Muslims will have maximum protection, added the Drina Corps commander, saying that this does not apply to those whose hands are stained with blood.

Col. Zivanovic stressed that those who have not committed any crimes can count on the protection of the Serb Republic Army, even inside their homes.

Secures Withdrawal of Civilians

LD0102130593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1217 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Zvornik, February 1 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army has enabled hundreds of Moslem women and children to leave the war-torn area of Zvornik in eastern Bosnia and go to Kalesija and Tuzla, cities which are under Moslem control.

The Bosnian Serb Army opened up a corridor for Moslems from Saturday [30 January] evening until Monday

morning. The Bosnian Serb Army maintained full security of the corridor. Some Moslems had to be hospitalized in Zvornik where they will remain until they are fully recovered, the TANJUG correspondent said.

Sources of the Bosnian Serb Army on Monday said that equal treatment would be provided and guaranteed for members of the Moslem formations. They will be treated under the regulations of international laws of war provided they lay down their arms, the sources said.

The first group of 100 Moslem civilians passed towards Kalesija and Tuzla at around midnight on Saturday. Bosnian Serbs opened this corridor for humanitarian reasons.

Hundreds of Serbs were killed and all Serb villages were burned to the ground in attacks by Moslem formations on positions of the Bosnian Serb Army and on Serb villages in the area of Zvornik, Skelani, Bratunac and Rudo in eastern Bosnia in the past weeks.

Since mid-January, Moslem forces on several occasions shelled Bajina Basta and frontier posts of the Yugoslav Army in the Republic of Serbia on the banks of the Drina, which separates Bosnia-Hercegovina from Serbia.

Chemical Arms Reportedly Used in Gorazde Attacks

LD3001235093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Long-range artillery attacks on Gorazde have resulted in fresh casualties in that suffering town. Seven people have been killed and 11 civilians wounded by chetnik shells. Muslim villages in the municipalities of Bratunac and Srebrenica have for two weeks now been the target of attacks by local chetniks reinforced by members of the Uzice, Valjevo, and Novi Sad Corps of the Yugoslav Army.

The Srebrenica War Presidency has announced that there are hundreds of dead and wounded. The enemy used air force and chemical weapons in the attacks.

Serb Army Denies Using Poison Gas

LD3101144593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 31 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army General Staff denied on Sunday [31 January] the accusations by the Moslem side on the use of poison gas and participation of the Army of Yugoslavia in the fighting in the Drina River valley, eastern Bosnia.

"The Moslem fanatics resorted to fabricating untruths about the alleged use of poison gas by the Bosnian Serb Army, about the alleged participation of the Army of Yugoslavia in combat action in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and poisoning of the Zeleni Jadar River," a statement said.

"The Army of Bosnian Serbs categorically denies any attempt at linking its just liberation and defensive struggle with this and similar Moslem propaganda."

The statement notes that the Moslem side threatened to destroy the dam made of waste from the Sase mine in eastern Bosnia, that could cause environmental disaster in the middle and lower regions of the Drina River valley.

Failing to substantiate his claims, Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic last week once again accused the Army of Yugoslavia of participating in the fighting on the side of Bosnian Serbs in eastern Bosnia and threatened to leave the Geneva talks.

This was not the first time the Moslem side was using untruths in its search for a pretext to walk out from the peace talks, because it continued opting for West's military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs as its only chance.

Serbs Claim Northern Corridor Widened

LD3001210593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2014 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Item attributed to SRNA by TANJUG]

[Text] Brcko, 30 Jan (SRNA)—In a strong counteroffensive undertaken after this morning's attempt by the Muslim forces from the village of Ulice, 10 kms west of Brcko, to cut the Posavina (Sava River Valley) corridor, which links Serbian Krajina with the FRY, Serbian combatants have extended the liberated territory by a further 5 kms, SRNA's correspondent reports from Brcko.

In the fierce attack carried out this morning by members of the 108th brigade of the Croatian Defense Council, made up entirely of Muslims, one Serbian combatant died and six were wounded, so that the Serbian forces were forced to launch a counterattack.

In the fighting, which lasted until 1500, 20 enemy soldiers were liquidated and seven were taken prisoner. A recoilless gun and a large quantity of light infantry weapons were seized.

Ministry Warns Muslim-Croatian Violence Spreading

LD3101191393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Clashes between Croatian Defense Council forces and Bosnia-Hercegovina Army members have calmed, the Bosnian Interior Ministry reported today. However, reports available to the Ministry indicate that areas which have not seen clashes so far have become the target of Muslim and Croatian extremists, whose interests are unfortunately best served by such conflicts. The virus of nationalism and fighting threatens Vares, Olovo, and Zavidovici municipalities, where the Croatian and

Muslim nations have so far lived in harmony and good [word indistinct] relations. Villages in the River Krivaja Valley are the extremists' first target—Vijaka, Kamensko, Magulica, Careva Cuprija, Rijeka, Dubostica, Stojcici, Jelaske, Maoca, and others. Therefore, locals are called on to refrain from any kind of interethnic separation and to offer strong resistance to all those trying to cause a feud between the Croatian and Muslim nations.

Iran Reportedly Arming Bosnian Muslims

PM2901173093 London THE EUROPEAN in English 28-31 Jan 93 p 6

[Report by Askold Kruschelnycky: "The Arms Trail"]

[Text] An investigation by THE EUROPEAN has revealed that Iran has become the biggest supplier of weapons to Bosnia's Muslims.

Croatia, which armed the Croats in the Bosnian republic to fight the Serbs, has also shipped arms to the Muslims. Despite the United Nations arms embargo, Croatia has acquired arms from a variety of sources, including its ally Hungary, which is brimming with the same sort of Warsaw Pact arms which are being used by the Serbs, and from dealers in Italy, Turkey and the successor states of what was the Soviet Union.

But it is the revelations about Iran that will draw most attention. The Muslim states gave the UN an ultimatum last year that they would supply weapons to Bosnia from 15 January, despite the ban. However, many of those countries have been slow to act on their promise. The oil-rich Gulf states, dependent on western military protection, will not breach the embargo, and Turkey has adopted a more moderate line after pressure from NATO allies who feared that Ankara's involvement might enrage Greece and precipitate a wider Balkan war.

But Iran has no such compunction and is eager to spread its influence into the heart of Europe. Tehran has now become the principal player in payrolling the purchase and shipment of arms to Bosnia, although thus far it has done so in cooperation with Croatia.

A senior Croatian political source described the arms running operation. He confirmed that small arms—mostly Warsaw Pact pattern automatic Kalashnikov AK-47 rifles - have been purchased in some of the central Asian states of the former Soviet Union, and in Pakistan and Lebanon.

These are either flown into Zagreb or shipped into Split. The UN has the right to check air freight coming into Croatia, and its vessels can stop and search sea traffic to enforce the arms embargo. But the source said: "Ships carrying weapons have been getting through without a problem. I am certain that there has been an agreement not to search some ships in order to balance up a situation that was seen to be unfair to the Muslims."

He said that planes flying in with what was purported to be humanitarian aid were not rigorously scrutinised. Last summer an Iranian Boeing 747, carrying thousands of machine-guns, four million rounds of ammunition and 40 Iranian volunteers to join the Bosnian forces, was flamboyantly exposed by Croat authorities at Zagreb airport.

The Croats were happy to let the cargo go on to Bosnia. But it had also been tracked by the CIA, and Washington forced Zagreb to make a show of returning it to Iran and lodging a protest with Tehran.

The Croat source said: "The Americans know that it is continuing, and from time to time Croatia and Hungary have to pretent that they have intercepted a weapons shipment to show that they are adhering to the UN embargo."

The weapons are usually hauled into Bosnia by truck along routes controlled by Croat and Muslim forces. The Croats admit that in return for their cooperation they take a slice of the shipments for their own arsenals.

This "commission" is a source of increasing friction: the Croats claim that they take a modest 20 per cent of the arms, but Muslims complain that they are taking between 50 and 60 per cent.

Some weapons shipments have been flown into Bosnia by smaller aircraft from Zagreb. The Muslim and Croat forces in the area of Bihac, almost completely surrounded by Serbs, have only managed to hold out because of such flights coming into an airfield at Cazin.

The flights contravene the "no-fly" zone over Bosnia, but the UN has not stopped them, and its officials are only allowed to inspect the planes and helicopters carrying food for the besieged population. One of the most influential leaders of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina admitted that some weapons had been smuggled into besieged Muslim areas hidden among humanitarian aid carried by truck convoys escorted by the UN.

Although Iranian planes have flown in supplies, Tehran has tried to disguise the arms trail by chartering ships under foreign flags and making it seem that arms are being provided by the fundamentalist Hizballah (party of god) organisation in Lebanon.

Iran has also employed other friendly countries to provide the "end-user certificates" necessary to buy the more sophisticated weapons that it is prevented from purchasing. The certificates are issued by those countries not forbidden by the UN or individual arms-manufac ring countries from receiving such weapons. Pakistan .s one of the countries which has furnished these documents for the Iranians' arms trail.

The Swedish-made T-4 wire-guided missile for use against armoured vehicles is one of the most successful weapons bought for the Muslims by Iran. So, too, is the US-manufactured rocket-propelled grenade, which is superior to its Warsaw Pact equivalent. Both have been

used spectacularly against Serb tanks and are credited with the relief last autumn of the besieged Muslim town of Gorazde.

So far Iran has paved the way for the arms shipments by giving Croatia favourable terms for financial loans and oil deliveries. But recent Muslim-Croat tensions have made the Croats nervous about the supplies, and Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman, seems to have been gripped by a genuine urge to forge a peace in Bosnia. Earlier this month he gave his support to the arms embargo against Bosnia unless there was outside military intervention in the republic.

The former Yugoslavia's last president, Stipe Mesic, now speaker of the Croat parliament, was despatched to Teheran last week to smooth things over. Although he is sympathetic to the position of Muslims in Bosnia and tried to assure the Iranians of his continued cooperation, he is not a political heavyweight. The more powerful among his colleagues have vowed that they will not allow the formation of an Islamic republic in Europe.

Many western nations are disturbed—like the Croats—by the deepening influence of Iran in Bosnia. Volunteer mujahideen fighters are travelling to Bosnia from all over the Muslim world, and their brand of fundamentalism, alien to Bosnian Muslims, is beginning to catch on.

Jasin Muftej, a nom de guerre for an indigenous nian mojahedin commander in the west of the country, sits in an office decorated with portraits of the Ayatollah Khomeyni and a Lebanese fanatical cleric, Sayyid 'Abbas Musa. He praises the extremist Lebanese Hizballah fundamentalists responsible for taking western hostages in Beirut, and two months ago he visited his mentors there. His troops are forbidden alcohol and pork, both of which are treats enjoyed by Bosnian Muslims, and they pray five times a day. He said: "Our wish is to imbue the spirit of Hizballah into our brigade."

This Saturday 110 war-wounded from Bosnia will be flown from Zagreb to Beirut, where they will be guests of Hizballah while they receive treatment.

Referring to the fighting between Muslims and Croats at Gornji Vakuf, he said: "We have had difficulties with the Croats, but we have sent them an indirect message not to interfere, otherwise we shall make war on them. The forces and America will be our next target, if they stop us liberating Bosnia."

Iran is worried that the Croats will shut down the arms routes, and is already exploring alternatives. One is to use small aircraft, perhaps operating from one of the 1,000 islands along the Croatian coast, or to enlist illicit help from Italy to fly arms shipments directly into Bosnia. But that would be far less reliable and a far riskier way of aiding their Muslim brothers than the arms trail they use now.

Muslims Accused of Plotting Assassinations

LD2901184193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 29 (TANJUG)—Forces loyal to Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic prepared the assassinations of French President Francois Mitterrand, British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, representatives of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and other prominent foreign officials, the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina said on Friday [29 January].

Quoting statements by citizens who recently escaped from Sarajevo, the Bosnian Serb Army General Staff said that the assassination of French President Mitterrand had been prepared according to the idea by Mustafa Hajrulafovic, a Bosnian Muslim known as "the Italian." Mitterrand was to have been killed during his visit to Sarajevo on July 27 last year, but the assassination attempt failed because the agenda of the visit had been changed, said the Bosnian Serb Army statement.

Under a previously determined scenario, the source said, forces loyal to Izetbegovic fired a mortar shell at the headquarters of the Muslim-Croat presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina during a visit by British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd to Sarajevo.

A similar attack was also made on the building where UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, French General Philipe Morillon was staying. The attack was executed when Gen. Morillon was entering the building, the Bosnian Serb military sources said.

The Bosnian Serb military authorities also said that Muslims had on several occasions prepared the assassination of former UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Canadian General Lewis MacKenzie.

The American reporter who was killed while covering the visit of Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic to Sarajevo was killed by a woman, a professional marksman, the statement said.

All actions for the liquidation of foreign officials were prepared with the objective of blaming Serbs for their execution, the Bosnian Serb Army said, in order to "satanize Serbs and provoke an international military intervention" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, where a civil and religious war has been raging for almost ten months.

Sarinic Says Peruca Dam Catastrophe Averted

LD2901153893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The catastrophe has been avoided. The hydroelectric plant and the Peruca dam will be repaired, so 50,000 citizens south of the dam can sigh with relief, and therefore I am happy on my departure from here, Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic told domestic and foreign journalists following his tour of the dam.

This morning the situation was extremely serious, with the dam being on the verge of collapse. [passage omitted] The Croatian prime minister particularly commended the Split and Sinj heavy construction workers and all other participants of the action who have since this morning been working hard on filling all the cracks. About 5,000 cubic meters of stone is ready to be used to fill in the cracks and craters. [passage omitted]

UN Peacekeepers To Return

LD2901234393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2323 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Defence minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Stojan Spanovic said on Friday evening that U.N. peacekeepers were expected to return on Saturday to the Peruca hydro-electric power plant.

The Peruca dam was captured on Friday by the Army of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, after the RSK at the insistence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] withdrew its forces from the dam and turned it over to UNPROFOR's Sector South command.

U.N. peacekeepers withdrew from the dam when Croatian commandoes stormed it.

In a joint broadcast of Knin and Banja Luka television stations, Spanovic said he had been told on Friday that U.N. forces would return to the dam by UNPROFOR South commander, General Arap Rob. Spanovic said Rob had been informed about the redeployment by UNPROFOR commander General Satish Nambiar.

According to the proposal, Serb forces should make way for U.N. peacekeepers to return to their original positions in the Peruca dam area, while Croatia would withdraw its forces towards the nearby town of Sinj.

Croatia on January 22 launched an aggression on the southern part of the RSK, which has been under U.N. protection since March last year, and continues it in spite of two U.N. Security Council resolutions condemning it.

Serbs Demand Croat Withdrawal

LD2901164193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, Belgrade, January 29 (TANJUG)—The general command of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina on Friday [29 January] asked Commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia General Satish Nambiar to "order the Croatian side immediately to leave the Peruca hydroelectric power plant and let UNPROFOR take over its securing," the Krajina news agency ISKRA said.

The protest telegram sent on Friday to Gen. Nambiar and UNPROFOR force commander for sector south said that the Croatian Army had seized Peruca dam after Krajina, at the insistence of UNPROFOR, on Thursday withdrew its police forces and left the dam to be protected by the UNPROFOR command for sector south.

"Croatian artillery shelling has damaged the dam," spokesman of the Krajina general command Colonel Kosta Novakovic said on Friday.

Speaking to a press conference in Krajina's center of Knin, Col. Kosta Novakovic said that the Peruca dam was now controlled by Croatian forces, although it has special status under a U.N. decision—it is a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA). Col. Novakovic said that Krajina forces had been there to protect the Kenyan UNPROFOR battalion, which was guarding the dam but which has now withdrawn.

The general command of the Krajina army on Friday warned the UNPROFOR command for sector south, which is in charge of security of the Peruca dam, that any further terrorist actions by Croatian forces could result in an ecological disaster and the loss of human lives and material goods, ISKRA said.

UNPROFOR on Friday said that the population of two villages in the immediate vicinity would have to be evacuated immediately if the dam was seriously damaged.

They estimated that there was no danger for now of the water from the Peruca lake breaking through the dam. If this should happen, however, 20,000 people would have to leave their homes, the UNPROFOR headquarters in Belgrade told TANJUG.

Croatian forces on January 22 attacked Krajina, which has been protected by the U.N. since spring last year and where Serbs are the majority population.

Despite two warnings from the U.N. Security Council, Croatia has not only failed to withdraw its forces to the positions they held before the attack but has even continued the aggression, which has so far resulted in the deaths of 830 Serb civilians and 150 Krajina policemen.

Krajina Minister Updates Situation

AU2901205293 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Report by Svetlana Petkovic]

[Text] Serbian units left the Peruca dam yesterday at the insistence of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]

Command, which guaranteed that the Croats will not attack that location once the blue helmets take it over. This was stated by Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, at a news conference tonight. The Croatian units treacherously attacked the Kenyan battalion that was protecting the dam, and the Kenyans had to withdraw to Serbian territory. Thankful for their brave conduct, the Serbian side has sent a letter of gratitude to the government in Nairobi.

Jarcevic denied the claims by Croatia that the Serbs have planted explosives at Peruca. He said that evidence for this existed. A captured Croat officer, Ivan Buljan, admitted that the Croatian command was planning to mine the dam so that the Serbs could be blamed for it. The goal of the entire action was to divert the world media's attention from the Croatian offensive.

Journalists were told that since this morning, the Croats have also been targeting a dam two kilometers from Gracac. The dam holds back 450 million cubic meters of water. The dam is currently holding. If it becomes seriously damaged, all villages along Mount Velebit will be flooded all the way to Gospic. The United Nations and all diplomatic offices in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have been informed about it.

Regarding the situation at the front, according to Jarcevic's information, the Serbian Army has continued its counteroffensive and has taken the village of Skabrnja, some four kilometers from the earlier line of front toward Zadar.

Croat Forces Reportedly Attack Second Dam

LD2901232293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2258 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Croatian forces on Friday [29 January] after capturing the Peruca dam in the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) attacked a hydro-electric power plant near Obrovac, RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic said on Friday.

Jarcevic said at a news conference that the dam had not been damaged so far, but that its destruction would annihilate the town of Gracac, two kilometres downstream, and inundate an area extending all the way to Gospic.

Asked why Croatia would want to cause such a disaster, Jarcevic said flooding the area would sever the link between the western and south-eastern parts of the RSK, thereby also stopping the flow of food, medicines and army reinforcements.

"Apart from destroying the dam as a purely tactical move, blaming the resulting environmental disaster on the adversary could mobilize world public opinion," Jarcevic said, adding that the ultimate objective was to lay the blame on the Serbs and provoke a foreign military intervention in former Yugoslavia.

Jarcevic said he did not believe Croatia would heed the U.N. Security Council resolutions condemning its aggression.

"Croatia will not stop, because it was not punished either for ethnic cleansing in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, for its aggression on Moslems in central Bosnia, or for its aggression against the Serbs in the RSK," he said, adding: "Croatia will disregard the condemnation because it knows that the Western powers will not carry out air raids on its positions that they are threatening the Serbs with".

Tudjman Warns Serbs of 'Further Military Action'

LD3001094893 Hamburg DPA in German 0354 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—In an interview with the news magazine DER SPIEGEL (Monday's edition), Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has announced further military action against the Serbs. I will not extend the mandate of the UN peace troops for eastern Slavonia, which is due to expire in March, if the blue helmets there fail to ensure that the Serbian units are disarmed and the displaced Croatians repatriated, Tudjman says. "In that case we will conduct our own measures. At any rate, Croatia will take steps to protect its territory as a whole." On the progress of the ongoing fighting in Dalmatia, Croatia's president says "the Serbs will come to terms with defeat, or they will have to suffer further defeats."

Tudjman is aware of the risk of the entire Geneva peace process of the Yugoslav conference collapsing due to the Croatian military offensive. "I am to a certain extent taking that into account. But the fact that it has come to this is not Croatia's fault."

Tudjman expresses disappointment that his actions have been criticized by Germany, which at the time had led the way in bringing about Croatia's international recognition. When it came down to it, he had no choice but to act. "We simply are liberating our own country."

The article was prereleased to DPA.

Tudjman Says Attacks on Krajina To Continue

LD3101165693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on Saturday [30 January] said Croatian troops would go ahead to capture Drnis, Benkovac, Obrovac and Knin in the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

Speaking at a rally in the Croatian coastal town of Split, Tudjman said that, if the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] should fail to enable the restoration of Croatian authority in the R.S.K., he would "name the day and hour when Benkovac, Obrovac, Drnis and Knin

will get under Croatian sovereignty with the least sacrifice," and this he said would be very soon.

Croatia launched an assault on the southern section of the R.S.K. on January 22 and continues the offensive despite two ultimatums from the U.N. Security Council to halt the operation and withdraw to behind the demarcation line.

The Croatian president is turning a deaf ear to the demands of the international community and the Croatian Army on Thursday [28 January] seized the Peruca hydro-electric dam in the southwest of the U.N. protected area.

Threatening Serbs in the R.S.K. and Bosnia, as well as Moslems with whom Bosnian Croats have been fighting fierce battles in the past three weeks, Tudjman is quoted by the Croatian press on Sunday as promising Bosnian Croats the full support of the Republic of Croatia.

Tudjman Warns Occupied Land To Be Reclaimed

LD3101135593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1300 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] President Tudjman is on a visit to Istria today. In a speech to the residents of Porec he remarked upon the great contribution made by the people of this part of Croatia during the war.

Once again the president stressed that Croatia will work with UN peacekeepers to gain control of occupied territories, but if need be Croatia will reclaim this land on its own. Tudjman also emphasized that the future and advancement of Istria should go hand in hand with Croatia's.

Refugees Cited as Reason for Attack

AU2901145093 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 29 (AFP)—The political and economic pressure caused by the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees into Croatia contributed to Croatia's decision to attack Serb forces in the self-declared Serbian Republic of Krajina in southwestern Croatia, according to officials in Zagreb on Friday [29 January].

"It is one of the reasons why the president (Franjo Tudjman) decided to liberate the occupied territories," director of the office in charge of refugees, Adalbert Rebic, said.

According to an official report, Croatia has had to deal with at least 750,000 "displaced" people (Croatians fleeing from Serbian enclaves in Croatia) and refugees from the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This, in a country of 4.7 million people, was the equivalent of 10 million people flooding into Germany or eight million into France, the report said.

"The local elections on February 7 are approaching and the ruling party is losing momentum. Tudjman wanted to show those who have been displaced that he is doing something for them, whereas the United Nations is doing nothing," said one Western source, who did not want to be named.

Croatian forces launched an offensive against Serb forces in Krajina last Friday [22 January] to take control of the area around the destroyed Maslenica bridge, which linked northern and southern Croatia.

Sources in Tudjman's office said Friday [29 January] that Croatian forces had taken control of the Peruca dam, which had been under United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) surveillance since September.

Rebic said reconstruction of the Maslenica bridge was, for the Croatians, a "question of survival" and vital to the liberation of people living in southern Croatia.

Croatia would also be better able to deliver aid to some 200,000 refugees and displaced people in southern Croatia, he said.

Rebic's deputy, Boris Cepin, said that in 1992 Croatia spent one billion dollars—a fifth of its budget—providing for refugees and displaced people.

Foreign financial aid accounted for just three percent of the amount spent, Cepin said. "Our economy will collapse if Western governments do not come to our aid."

If the Croatians who had fled Serb-held areas were able to return home, the country's economy would get a double boost, Cepin said. There would be income again from the area along the Dalmatian coast, which has been cut off from the rest of Croatia, and the amount of money needed to finance refugee aid would decrease.

The latest official statistics, from January 20, put the number of displaced people in Croatia at 256,401 and the number of refugees from Bosnia at 401,209—a total drop of about 100,000 since mid-December.

According to Rebic, for every refugee officially in the records, there is at least one other who is not registered. "At least 30 percent needs to be added to the official figures," he said.

'Fierce Fighting' Reported in Benkovac

LD2901180393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—While the front in the region of the Peruca hydroelectric power plant was relatively peaceful, fierce fighting between the aggressor and Krajina defenders has been raging throughout the day at the Benkovac front. Fighting started around 0400 when the Krajina defenders' positions came under fierce fire. According to reports by war reporters, the fiercest

fighting was waged in the region of the village of Kasic. Exchanges of barrage of artillery fire reverberated throughout the day there.

Colonel Momcilo Bogunovic, commander of the Serb forces on that part of the front, said that Krajina soldiers "following initial surprise managed to halt the attack" and that they would "throw the aggressor out of the area of Ravni Kotari."

So far there have been no official reports on casualties, but judging by the intensity of fighting there are casualties on both sides. New volunteers have reached Krajina, while the Croats have been introducing reinforcements during battles.

Croat Forces Continue Attacks on RSK Positions

LD3101141593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The main headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) today announced that Croatian forces continued their brutal aggression against the RSK for the 10th consecutive day, and that the Croatian Army continues its attacks in the Zadar-Benkovac and Rovanjska-Jasenica-Obrovac directions.

According to a statement by the main headquarters, Croatian artillery is strongly pounding Krajina units deep inside Krajina territory. The Croatian Army again engaged its special units and sabotage groups. A sabotage group was destroyed on Velebit mountain. The main headquarters stresses that the Krajina Army is still resolutely defending Krajina, and is firmly holding captured positions. Force strength grows every day because of the arrival of volunteers, Serbian patriots. The headquarters says that several hundred volunteers and many officers and recruits born in Krajina arrived yesterday.

The statement also stresses that in addition to the brutal aggression "which the entire world has finally condemned," Croatia is waging an aggressive propaganda war. The main headquarters claims that Milan Djukic's People's Party has called on the residents of Banija to "accept the Croatian authorities, saying that they would die in vain" because "great powers will determine their future."

According to the RSK Army main headquarters statement, Croatia continues troop reinforcement in the western sector. It stresses that six or seven Croatian brigades are positioned there and are ready to attack.

Krajina Threatens To Suspend Talks

LD3101182993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina will stop holding any further talks unless UN Security Council Resolutions 802 and 762 are respected and all Croatian soldiers withdraw from Krajina's territory.

The authorities of the Republic of Serbian Krajina demand that measures be taken within the next 48 hours that will force Croatia to comply with UN Security Council Resolution 802.

This stand was today conveyed to Cedric Thornberry, head of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] civilian sector, who has arrived in Knin. Correspondents were informed about this at a news conference by Mile Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina .

Representatives of the Krajina Government said that "Thornberry mentioned a possibility that, in adition to political and diplomatic measures, sanctions could also be applied against Croatia." "The possibility was also mentioned of the expulsion (of Croatia) from the United Nations," something that the Krajina side demands.

Zdravko Zecevic, president of the Krajina Government, doubted that the current measures against Croatia would yield positive results. "It seems to me," he said, "that someone behind the scenes is in control of this situation, and that the UNPROFOR, and by the same token the United Nations, is an instrument of certain political goals."

The press were also told that Thornberry is interested in the circumstances surrounding 27 French soldiers at the location of "Mali Alan" on Mt. Velebit, where they, as it was said, provide a human shield for the Croatian Army. Serbian forces are taking the initiative and pushing back the aggressor at this mountain pass.

Thornberry repeated "firm guarantees" for the people of Krajina, that western Slavonia would not be attacked. In his words, the UNPROFOR has deployed five battalions there.

Krajina Interior Minister Says Situation Stable

AU2901202593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Interview with Milan Martic, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Rada Djokic on 29 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Djokic] Mr. Martic, eight days have already gone by since the beginning of the Croatian aggression on the Republic of Serbian Krajina. What is the situation like in the field today?

[Martic] I would say that the situation is fairly stable compared to the first few days, which, I must admit, were a bit of a surprise for us because it is almost inconceivable that Croatia would carry out an attack in view of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] presence. Unfortunately, this happened. They carried out an attack on both UNPROFOR and our units. Initially, before we took back our heavy weapons, which had been

under UNPROFOR control, the Croat side had the initiative. The territories they took are in fact the result of that initial situation, until we took back our arms.

The situation has improved a great deal, to our advantage. We are gradually regaining our territory, and I am convinced that in a day or two, or three, four or five days at most, we will regain our territory completely. [passage omitted]

I have a small problem with my boys. They are asking me: Boss, we only want one thing. After all this, you must allow us to liberate our Zadar. I agreed with them. I think that Zadar, which has never been Croatian, must at least become a neutral zone.

[Djokic] Did the Croatian forces attack Serbian territory this morning?

[Martic] Yes. Early this morning, they again launched a general attack on the entire territory of this region. In other words, they attacked the region from Rovanjaska, the Maslenica area, to the Peruca dam. The were very aggressive in all areas. However, there are no more surprises now because the fighters are in place. We are talking about the same fighters who liberated these territories, men who know how to fight. [passage omitted]

[Djokic] What is the situation like around the Peruca hydroelectric power plant?

[Martic] Fighting took place yesterday. I personally [words indistinct]. There was fierce fighting around the Peruca dam. Several bombs [mina] and projectiles hit the Peruca dam, and it was damaged. According to the latest information, the dam is caving in and there will probably be a catastrophe. However, the world should know that this was done by Croats.

[Djokic] How many Serb civilians were killed in the latest attack by the Croatian forces?

[Martic] There are several hundred civilian casualties—about several hundred, approximately 400 people, women, children. There were crimes that did not even happen in the last war: Children between the ages of five and 10 were hung on power line posts.

Krajina Deputy Commander Reviews Battle Status

AU3001165093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Interview with Colonel Kosta Novakovic, deputy commander of the Army of Serbian Krajina, by Mijusko Tomic in the Serbian Krajina Army Headquarters Command; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tomic] Today is the ninth day of the aggression perpetrated by Tudjman's Republic of Croatia against the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Novakovic] Exactly. It is known that Croatia perpetrated its aggression in the early morning hours on 22 January and that for nine days and nights the Croatian Armed Forces have incessantly been attacking with all kinds of weaponry, above all artillery, tanks, rocket gunboats, and other systems against settlements, our units, and above all against our population.

[Tomic] Which places are most threatened by the Croatian Army?

[Novakovic] Well, you know that the most threatened regions are the regions of Benkovac and Obrovac and during the last few days Peruca, too. There are also other regions: you know that there were also some operations that were successfully thwarted, such as the ones in Kordun, toward western Slavonia, and [word indistinct] the entire territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Tomic] What is the situation among the units on the battlefield?

[Novakovic] The situation in our units is firm. Our units have consolidated their defense; in fact, they have strengthened it, because the defense had been consolidated earlier. New fighters continue to come, above all a large number of volunteers originating from this region and a large number of other Serbian patriots from other Serbian lands who are coming every day. (?Help) means that these people are coming every day, offering themselves as help and offering material help, above all for humanitarian purposes.

[Tomic] What will the future course of events look like, and what do you expect?

[Novakovic] Well, you know, we hope that the world, above all the UN Security Council, will finally stop the aggression and order Croatia to stop that aggression. We hope that this will happen, and I must say that we rely exclusively on our army and our people.

Vance Warned of Upcoming Croatian Attack

LD3101212693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, January 31 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador in Geneva Vladimir Pavicevic on Sunday [31 January] informed co-chairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance that Croatia was amassing troops in Sector West, which is controlled by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and planning to take over control of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway by force.

Pavicevic also told Vance that Croatian civilians were being evacuated from that sector and that the UNPROFOR was withdrawing.

Military sources of Bosnian Serbs on Friday [29 January] warned that there were signs that Croatia was preparing to take over from the UNPROFOR the section of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway from Nova Gradiska to

Novska in Western Slavonija. The highway is currently protected by the U.N. peace forces.

Serb military sources in Banja Luka, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that Croatia recently evacuated the population from around Daruvar towards Bjelovar in western Slavonija, and that large concentrations of Croatian armored-mechanized units were observed in that region.

The UNPROFOR has five batallions deployed in Sector West in Slavonija. This was confirmed on Sunday by UNPROFOR civil administration head Cedric Thornberry in a talk with the authorities of the Republic of Serb Krajina in Knin. Thornberry repeated to the Serbs his firm guarantees that western Slavonija would not be attacked.

Croatia on January 22 this year attacked the U.N.-protected area of Krajina in Sector South. For the past ten days, Croatia continued the attacks, ignoring the U.N. Security Council resolution which calls for an end to the military operations and withdrawal to the positions which Croatian forces held before the attack.

French UN Troops Pull Out of Combat Zone

AU0102094993 Paris AFP in English 0946 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Zadar, Croatia, Feb 1 (AFP)—Some 20 French U.N. peacekeepers were evacuated from a strategic hill in southern Croatia where they had been pinned down by nine days of fighting, Croatian and French sources said Monday [1 February].

Sunday's [31 January] evacuation from the Mali Alan hill, which overlooks the Maslenica bridge —prime objective of an initial Croatian offensive last week—was filmed by Croatian forces who wanted documentary proof they were not involved in case of an incident.

The French troops, whose evacuation followed negotiations between warring Croats and Serbs, were taken to their headquarters in nearby Gracac.

UNPROFOR Official Holds News Conference in Knin

AU3101165493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] Cedric Thornberry, deputy commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for former Yugoslavia, arrived in Knin this morning. Thornberry met with the representatives of civilian and military authorities of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Before that, he told reporters that the purpose of his visit is also to meet UNPROFOR representatives in the southern sector. After the Knin visit, I will talk with the commander of protection forces and inform UN Headquarters in New York about the situation in this region, the UNPROFOR deputy commander said.

Speaking at the news conference that is still under way, Thornberry reiterated the statement he made before the beginning of the meeting concerning reasons for his visit. The third reason mentioned was, I quote, I have come so you can eat up somebody from UNPROFOR, because you are hungry, the UNPROFOR deputy commander said, and that statement caused a slight stir among the reporters; however, all colleagues remained seated.

I am going to hold talks with Croatian Minister Gojko Susak about the fate of two of your colleagues from the S Channel, Thornberry said.

In reply to the question about the latest genocide against the Serbs, Thornberry said: We are shocked. We have held talks at the highest level about all issues that can be solved through negotiations. Peace forces are here so that sides in the clashes can talk about everything. Our troops are few and lightly armed, so they are incapable of repulsing stronger attacks. I talked about everything with [Serbian Krajina officials] Martic and Spanovic as early as on 18 January, but not one of us believed the attack was so certain.

The next question was how many times will Croatia, a UN member, perpetrate an aggression against Serbs before it is seriously punished. Thornberry replied to the question by saying that the question should in fact be posed to the Security Council. I am not avoiding an answer, he stated, but we are trying to limit what has happened to date and prevent it from spreading further, and we are doing all that on the basis if the UN Security Council's Resolution 802.

The most important process is informing the Security Council. As you know, truth is the first to suffer in a war; you have felt that yourselves, the UNPROFOR deputy commander said. There have never been so many contradictory statements in the entire international practice.

After all this, can Serbs still trust the authority of the United Nations, the reporters asked. Let us wait a bit, Cedric Thornberry advised. The resolution was adopted only seven days ago, and the Security Council has already met in the meantime. The UN forces do not possess executive power. Goodwill also exists in international relations, and in the southern sector there are only three battalions standing opposite a well-armed army. The international community will determine further steps.

In reply to the question of whether the United Nations has been informed about the genocide against civilians and the occupation of the dam of the Peruca Hydroelectric Power Plant over which the United Nations has a special (?status), Cedric Thornberry says the following: I have received an extensive report on Peruca. The diplomatic corps has been convened in Zagreb and informed

about all events. Regarding civilian victims that we fear are high in number, we have informed the UN Security Council about this.

As I report, the news conference is still under way.

UNPROFOR Press Release on Maslenica Criticized

AU0102143193 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 93 p 2

[Commentary by Dunja Ujevic: "The Shallow Reasons for 'Deep Regret'"]

[Text] With Shannon Boyd as spokeswoman, the United Nations Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] Public Relations Office announced yesterday that it "feels deep regret because of the one-sided military operation of the Croats, which has been condemned by the Security Council, the secretary general, and by UNPROFOR". The 13 points of UNPROFOR's press release state the chronology of talks and decisions that preceded the Croatian military operation around the area of the Maslenica bridge, yet it avoids asking two crucial questions. First: would there have been a military operation if UNPROFOR had fulfilled its duty and implemented the Vance plan? And second, analogous to the first: how could it have happened that the Serbs robbed 200 warehouses containing the weapons that were entrusted to UNPROFOR for safekeeping?

As far as the weapons are concerned, however, the same question should be posed to the Croatian authorities.

It is true that according to the Vance plan these weapons were to be placed in the occupied United Nations Protected Areas [UNPA] zones and placed under the control of UNPROFOR. However, how could it have happened that the vital parts of this heavy weaponry, without which it is paralyzed, were not stored in areas outside of the war zones where it would have also been under the exclusive control of UNPROFOR? It is incredible that two nights ago, the Serbs shelled Cavoglave and the surrounding area of Drnis with these same weapons. It is even more incredible if you take into account that we do not lack experience in such matters.

There is no doubt that, after Croatia's intervention on Croatian territory, international political efforts will be aimed at getting things back to where they were in the first place—the Croats will have to retreat and the Serbs will have to give back the weapons. The pressure on the Geneva conference to turn from the issue of Bosnia to the issue of Croatia is in the same vein, as is the fact that Zivota Panic has mobilized the Novi Sad Corps, and together with the Serbian foreign minister, has informed the UN Security Council that unless the Croats retreat within two days, he will not be able to restrain his army.

Chance or not, this coordinated action of Serbia and the UNPROFOR mouthpiece is not without certain political support—the BBC, (which for all its independence is still a state institution, so everything it says should be listened to while bearing this in mind), announced yesterday that the "Croatian Armed Forces attacked the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is situated in Croatia's neighborhood." Even if this was well meant, it still does not release Croatian diplomacy from the responsibility of lodging a sharp complaint.

Regardless of whether this is just much ado about nothing, the UN secretary general, General Nambiar, and the gentlemen in the Security Council who keep referring to the Vance plan should be asked the following questions:

1. Why did UNPROFOR not demobilize the UNPA zones as specified by the Vance plan?

2. Why did it not secure the reopening of roads and highways, also specified by the plan?

3. Why did it not enable the return of refugees, another thing specified by the plan they keep invoking?

4. Why, under the pretext of humanitarian help, did it enable ethnic cleansing (genocide) of non-Serbs in the zones it supposedly controls? When to all this you add some other questions that follow from these basic ones—for example, what does the Serbian military parade in Okucani and Vojnic, held in front of the very eyes of UNPROFOR, mean? Or, what does it mean when UNPROFOR insists on negotiating with Krajina's central authorities instead of with the local authorities? What about the permit for oil import issued to the Serbs in the east sector? Etc., etc.—then, consequently, the question should be repeated: if UNPROFOR had carried out its duty, would there have been a military operation around Maslenica bridge? Since it has not, what is its purpose in the first place, and what gives it the right to comment?

Croats To Seize Part of Belgrade-Zagreb Highway

LD2901175993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1653 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Banja Luka, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The press center of the First Krajina Corps of the Serb Republic [RS] Army today announced that there were indications that the Croatian Army would try to take a section of the [Belgrade-Zagreb] motorway between Novska and Nova Gradiska, TANJUG's correspondent reported from Banja Luka. Serb military sources in Banja Luka based this assumption on the recent evacuation toward Bjelovar of people from the Daruvar area, as well as on the large concentration of Croatian armored mechanized units between Petrovo Selo and Nova Gradiska and between Kutina and Novska.

In an attempt to deceive members of the UN peacekeeping forces in the area, members of the Croatian Army wore police uniforms, claimed the Serb military sources in Banja Luka.

The SRNA agency said, quoting Serb intelligence sources, that the obvious intention of Croatian forces is to take the section of the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway under UN control because the blue helmets are already on alert and deployed along the demarcation line.

New Forces Brought to Border With Montenegro

LD3001211393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Herceg Novi, January 30 (TANJUG)—Croatia is bringing in new military forces and heavy weaponry to the border with the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, in the region of Dubravka, Zaplanik and Ivanica on the Adriatic coast.

TANJUG on Saturday [30 January] learned from reliable sources that around 70 lorries and motor vehicles had arrived in the region in the past 24 hours.

Presidents Dobrica Cosic of Yugoslavia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia three months ago reached an agreement on the demilitarization of this region. The Yugoslav Army left this area on October 20 last year, but the Croatian side has on several occasions since violated the agreement between the two presidents.

Strength of Croatian Forces Detailed

LD3101142593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 31 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 31 (TANJUG)—Croatia, according to estimates of Western military analysts, has over the past year and a half, despite the arms embargo, significantly armed itself through secret channels. Also, judging from the already contracted deals, it was intent on acquiring more, diverse and better quality weapons.

The Croatian Army at this time has around 105,000 troops, divided into nine brigades, while the officer corps for the most part are officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

Croatia's ground troops have nearly 300 tanks—T-54, T-55, T-72 and M-84, which have for the most part been seized from the JNA, but a number of them were also imported. This also holds true for some 380 armored carriers as well as more than 2,500 pieces of anti-armor weapons and over 820 artillery pieces for support to armored and infantry forces.

The Croatian Army's weakest point is the Air Force, and the largest amounts of money were being spent on this.

Croatia now has about 25 MiG-21 aircraft, about 40 piston-engined armed airplanes and 24 helicopters, most of which are armed.

The Croatian Navy consists of four patrol boats, two rocket boats, one torpedo boat and six assault-landing boats, one gunboat with RBS-15 missiles and 24 auxiliary vessels. There is also a larger number of coast ground-based batteries and 16 movable batteries with 130 mm guns.

Croatia could soon get much more high quality weapons.

According to reliable information of arms dealers partly disclosed in the West European press, the delivery of another 120 T-72 tanks and 200 armored carriers have also been contracted as well as the purchase of 12 Mi-12 helicopters and six Mi-8 combat helicopters, two Puma helicopters and four Gazelle helicopters, together with L-59 training aircraft.

Contacts have been established also with regard to obtaining air-to-air missiles, radar air monitoring and guiding systems, some 300 T-72 tanks, 105 mm and 155 mm howitzers, (?Armburst) anti-tank missiles and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

The largest portion of Croatia's weaponry was of Russian origin and it has obtained it in the former Eastern bloc countries, through the mediation of the companies registered in Germany. The largest suppliers were Hungary, former Czechoslovakia and Poland. They supplied mostly weapons from the former East Germany.

Of late, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were not figuring as prominently as previously, as Poland was taking over most of the deliveries. To these ends, Croatia was prepared to invest over one billion dollars.

Arms purchases, despite the existing ban, have been publicly confirmed by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak, Croatia's representative at the U.N. Mario Nobilo and Croatian Air Force Commander Imre Agotic.

Despite the arms embargo, Croatia was emerging as an increasingly significant military power in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Before it seized part of the former JNA weapons, Croatia went to war one and a half years ago with 83,000 automatic Kalashnikov rifles.

Zagreb Gypsies Harassed, Forced To Leave

LD0102101993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1002 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Gypsies are being forced to move out of Zagreb, following in the wake of the Serbs, who were banished from the Croatian capital eighteen months ago.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES writes on Monday [1 February] that Gypsies living in Zagreb's suburbs of Dubec and Trnovcica are being harassed, especially those who live in modern and comfortable homes built with money they earned working in western Europe for years.

"Explosions, bullets through the windows, harassment of children in the streets and at school, exclusion from

restaurants, refusal of shop-keepers to sell them food, are everyday occurrences and only some of the ways in which pressure in brought to bear on the Gypsies to get out," writes the daily.

"Not a few gypsies have already moved out, selling their comfortable homes for next to nothing in order to escape harassment," says POLITIKA EKSPRES.

It goes on to add that many houses in the parts of the city inhabited by Serbs until eighteen months ago were mined and others have been taken over by Croats who have come to Zagreb from other parts of Croatia.

"Democratic" Croatia is following in the steps of the notorious fascist puppet independent state of Croatia of World War Two.

Following the precepts of Nazi Germany, the independent state of Croatia exterminated one million Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, 700 thousand of whom in its Jasenovac death camp.

Albanian Defense Minister Arrives, Holds Talks

LD3001233893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali has arrived in Slovenia. He discussed international relations in the Balkans with Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa. They discussed, in particular, possibilities of a peaceful solution to the problem of Kosovo.

Production, Exports of Weapons Viewed

93BA0507B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by "R.I.": "You Need a Malyutka? Call Ljubljana!"]

[Text] NOVI VJESNIK made an interesting discovery the other day. It consists of unambiguous evidence of the complete legalization of the sale of arms in one of the former republics of disintegrated Yugoslavia. It includes a price list for cannons, howitzers, submachine guns and automatic rifles, mortars, pistols, and even helicopters as though they were groceries for the household, and a precise inventory of all kinds of weapons and military equipment "available," used or new according to the customer's desire, including ammunition of all calibers, the most up-to-date communications equipment, and everything necessary to wage war in this quarreling region.

Although there is a superficial mention that "this list should be kept secret," the Slovenian "enterprise for development and manufacturing of electronic devices, engineering, and commerce ELTRA," with headquarters in Ljubljana, Sentvid, Stegne 7, did not really take any particular pains about security concerning the "goods it trades in." That is how we have come to see several documents which reveal the existence and more than impressive storehouse of weapons "for every size and purpose."

The most diverse tools for murder, the instructions tell potential customers, are available "fco [free delivery] the Croatian border" (accompanied, of course, with confirmation of transit across it and beyond), "if the goods are going to Bosnia-Hercegovina," with payment to be made "immediately, by agreement even in advance," and there is also other "worthwhile" advice. For example, that "the prices are approximate and may be lower, depending on the quantity, delivery date, and mode of transportation." In connection with the latter, the price list says that "silencers for the Scorpion automatic pistol" cost 400 German marks [DM], 50 such silencers DM360, and over 100 only DM320, per unit, of course. If a customer wants to buy shells for mortars (they claim to have in the warehouse 100,000 of calibers 60, 82, and 120 mm), he must count out $142 for each one, provided he buys at least 1,000 of them.

The more exclusive and certainly incomparably more expensive "goods" are as follows: Malyutka ($25,000), Strais ($47,000), a sniper rifle with nightsights ($30,025), a new 120-mm mortar ($15,125). The more fastidious and solvent "esteemed customers" are also offered a 70-percent rebuilt T-55 tank for $310,000, but also two new helicopters (M-24 and M-8) at prices of $5.75 million and $3 million. In the "ELTRA shop" in Ljubljana, they hardly ever say "We do not have it," and the items for sale include bulletproof vests, laser rangefinders, hand-held observation measuring devices, various kinds of missiles, and all types of two-way radios, not to mention military clothing and footwear. And if they do not have something in the warehouse, then Mr. Gregor Gliha, certainly a man who keeps in touch with his customers, goes out looking for what people say they want....

And not so long ago, before what was called Yugoslavia fell apart, discussions of arms and arms sales were conducted sotto voce, and quite a few people were sent to jail because they "got out of line" and said that socialist morality was not served when cannons from Novi Travnik, for example, were supplied to the Indians or rifles from Crvena Zastava in Kragujevac were sent to African rebels. Other times have meanwhile arrived, and the enterprise in Slovenia has understood them in its own way, in a commercial way, although, to be sure, so far without advertising spots on TV and in the newspapers. NOVI VJESNIK is presenting all the evidence to which we have referred in order to dispel possible disbelief.

Federal

Cosic, Milosevic Refuse Meeting With Tudjman

LD2901233993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2328 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Presidents Dobrica Cosic of Yugoslavia and Slobodan Milosevic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia refused to meet with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Geneva on Friday [29 January], the Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes in its issue for Saturday, quoting well-informed diplomatic sources in Geneva.

The invitation to travel to Geneva on Friday for an urgent meeting with Tudjman was issued by the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, writes POLITIKA.

Observers in Geneva have the impression that the invitation, issued at Tudjman's initiative, was a diplomatic manoeuvre wrangled by the Croatian president in order to avoid U.N. sanctions against Croatia for its aggression on the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), and alter the mood of most foreign factors in the Yugoslav crisis which is at present running against Croatia, writes the daily.

A meeting with the Yugoslav officials would divert attention from the attack and the fact that it was launched against a U.N.-protected territory.

POLITIKA quotes Yugoslav presidential advisor Dragoslav Rancic as confirming that Cosic has turned down the cochairmen's invitation as ill-timed and inopportune.

Rancic said he believed Tudjman should discuss the problems caused by the Croatian aggression on the R.S.K. with U.N. officials.

Army General: Only Croats Could Destroy Dam

LD2901191493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1841 GMT 29 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—The Peruca hydropower dam situated in the south of the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb-Krajina (RSK) can only be destroyed by the Croats who are now holding it, Lieutenant-General Radovan Radinovic, head of the Defence Strategy Department at the Yugoslav Defence Ministry, said on Friday [29 January].

"A dam like Peruca can only be demolished from the inside and by planting a large quantity of explosives underwater," Gen. Radinovic said at a press conference in Belgrade.

Commenting on reports from Croatia that the Peruca dam was cracking and that the entire area was facing an ecological disaster, he said no external damage could cause the dam structure to crack.

Peruca was taken on Friday morning by the Army of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, whose troops a week ago launched an aggression on the RSK whose territory is protected by U.N. peacekeepers.

Before the Croats seized the dam, said Gen. Radinovic, it had not been secured by RSK policemen but by the Kenyan battalion of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

"The Serb forces could in no way blow up the dam which was protected by UNPROFOR, because they had never been in a position to do so," he argued.

Asked whether the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would help the Serbs in Krajina, Gen. Radinovic replied that was exactly what Croatia wanted, so that [word indistinct] of its allies would have a good excuse for military intervention.

"For the time being, the Serbs in Krajina can defend themselves from Croatian aggression. However, should they be confronted with a situation in which they would not be able to survive, we would have to interfere," he said and added that under the Vance peace plan, "Yugoslavia undertook the obligation to participate in maintaining peace."

At least 830 civilians and 150 RSK policemen have been killed in the Croatian aggression on the RSK, while 10,000 people have fled the area of combat operations.

Army Statement Refutes Tudjman Letter to EC

LD2901181393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff issued a statement today saying that the claims by Croatian President Tudjman of aggression against the Republic of Croatia on the part of the FRY were completely unfounded. The text of the statement reads:

"In connection with the completely unfounded accusations of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Repubic of Croatia, in the letter sent to EC President Niels Petersen claiming that units of the Yugoslav Army with a constant supply of weapons are being sent to assist the Serb units in the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], the information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff is authorized to make the following statement:

The unfounded claims of President Tudjman of aggression against the Republic of Croatia on the part of the FRY because, the letter stresses, of the presence of the Yugoslav Army in the RSK, are crude manipulation and common lies. Units of the Yugoslav Army have not left the FRY's territory, and could not therefore have been engaged in the area of the RSK against which the Croatian Army was carrying out aggression, committing

in the process monstrous crimes against the Serb population. The accusation against the FRY and Yugoslav Army of alleged aggression against the Republic of Croatia is simply an attempt by President Tudjman to conceal from the international public the brutality of the Croatian aggression against the RSK by transfering the blame to the FRY and its army."

Djukic Sends Letter to CSCE on Croats

LD2901165193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic today sent a letter to Margaretha Ugglas, Swedish foreign minister and chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers, saying that Croatia is continuing its merciless aggression and—contrary to the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Document and ignoring all UN Security Council warnings and decisions—is launching armed attacks on UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members, thus directly threatening the survival of the Serb people living in the Republic of Serb Krajina under UN protection.

Croatia is trying to deceive the international public by denying all acts of aggression and denying its ultimate aims, Djukic warned, adding that the aggressor has already destroyed a number of villages along the front, killing and expelling the innocent civilian population. What is unprecedented is that Croatia does not even balk at attacking UNPROFOR members, Djukic stressed in his letter, adding that this threat to the UN peace mission and to the authority of the UN Security Council calls for an immediate response.

Minister Djukic reminded Margaretha Ugglas of the FRY's right and responsibility—as a signatory of the Vance plan—to fight for its consistent implementation. "My country's government does not wish to be drawn—nor, we hope, be forced—to take drastic steps which would further complicate the situation," Djukic stressed in his letter.

Expressing his regret that the FRY, whose representatives were prevented from taking part in the CSCE session, will not be in a position to directly inform participants of the 19th CSCE session about Croatia's aggression against the Serb people in the UN protected region, Federal Minister Djukic called on the chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers, and through her on all CSCE member states, to take an appropriate stand, to most strongly condemn the aggression, and to demand that it cease. In this way the CSCE will make a vital contribution to efforts to resolve the situation in former Yugoslavia in a peaceful way, Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic said in his letter to CSCE Chairman Margaretha Ugglas.

Officials Discuss Krajinas, Embargo, Media

AU2901154093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] At a news conference organized by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic, Information Minister Miodrag Perisic, and General Radovan Radinovic answered questions from domestic and foreign journalists on the current situation in the Serbian Krajinas, the media campaign against Yugoslavia in the world, and the embargo on the import of oil to our country. Slobodan Jankovic reports:

[Jankovic] During the 100-minute meeting with the representatives of the Yugoslav Government, journalists were most interested in the stand of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the attack by Croatian forces on the Serbian Krajina. General Radovan Radinovic said that the Yugoslav Army will not get involved unless Yugoslavia's territory is directly endangered, and unless the Serbian people in Krajina are threatened with extinction and cannot defend themselves. The decision on involvement can only be made by the Supreme Defense Council, General Radinovic said.

Commenting on the same topic, Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic said that by attacking the so-called pink zones, Croatia violated the international obligations that it had assumed. The Vance plan should facilitate the stabilization of the situation, as well as a political solution for the people that live in that area, Minister Djukic said, adding that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia believes in the necessity of a political dialogue between the Croatian authorities and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. The Vance plan, Djukic said, does not contain the obligation to return these territories to Croatia, since they were exempt from its sovereignty.

Foreign journalists asked several questions about the Peruca dam and the possibility of the dam being destroyed. General Radovan Radinovic said that it is not easy to destroy dams, not even with heavy artillery. This can only be done with explosives on the inside. The dam was not in the hands of Serbs, but the UN Protection Force, Radinovic stressed, adding that if the dam is now in the hands of Croats, only they can destroy it.

Information Minister Miodrag Perisic spoke about the media campaign conducted against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He mentioned the latest propaganda action by U.S. papers and untrue stories about the alleged 70,000 captured Muslims in Serbian camps. There are 1,100 Muslims currently held in the prisons of the Serbian Republic, who are mainly fighters, Perisic said. He also mentioned the possibility of the Muslim side and its world sponsors launching new fabrications about the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia soon to force it into a civil war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and use this as an excuse for military intervention.

The embargo on the import of oil and our tankers on the Danube River was also a topic of conversation, as well as the situation in Trebinje and Yugoslavia's diplomatic activities.

Djukic Says UN Conditions Being Met

LD2901215293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has met all the conditions laid down by the U.N. Sanctions Committee, but in spite of this it has not been allowed to import oil, Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic told reporters today.

Commenting on accusations that Yugoslav vessels on the River Danube violated the oil embargo when they did not allow their cargoes to be searched, Djukic said that the ships were owned by private firms and that the government had nothing to do with them.

Djukic said privately-owned firms had threatened not to obey the state because the international community was not abiding by a resolution authorizing imports of oil and natural gas for humanitarian purposes, and they were now being threatened that they would be stopped by force.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said it would be bad if the incident was used for new pressures.

Djukic recalled that the government had asked for permission to import 800,000 tonnes of oil, and that the deliveries had been made conditional on an international assessment of Yugoslavia's precise requirements for fuel.

Djukic said Yugoslavia had accepted this, but was then authorized to import only 300,000 tonnes. Even then, instead of a final decision new conditions were laid—we fulfilled them all, but we have still not got any oil, he said.

"This attitude and the constant media pressure, which is now verging on a racist attitude towards the Serbian people, do not create a democratic and positive climate for a resolution of the crisis, but instead one for social unrest and radical solutions—the eruption of a new enormous volcano," Djukic said.

Oil Tankers Reach Serbian Stretch of Danube

LD3001122793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 93

[Text] The fifth convoy of Yugoslav oil-carrying ships has reached the Serbian stretch of the Danube, despite calls by the Bulgarian and Romanian border guards.

According to reports from Bucharest, further ships will shortly attempt to evade the trading restrictions. The Romanian Government has asked for help from the United Nations and the CSCE to stop the Yugoslav ships infringing the embargo.

Effect of Sanctions on Economy Viewed

93BA0500B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 93 pp 30-31

[Article by Slobodan Ikonic]

[Text] Shortly before the New Year holidays, the Chamber of Commerce of Yugoslavia and Serbia awarded a number of the most successful business organizations, and individuals for their achievements accomplished during the past year. They also published statistical indicators of economic trends in the country.

The economy ended the previous year with a 24 percent decrease in industrial production. Sanctions, they say have caused a 75.2 percent drop in the production of nonferrous metals, a 57.9 percent decrease in traffic and communications, a 51.5 percent decrease in the production of electrical machines and appliances, and a 54.6 percent drop in shipbuilding. However, if one keeps in mind that an 11 percent drop in industrial production was carried over from 1991, then the figures of reduced production are even more drastic. Compared to 1989, before the break-up of Yugoslavia and before interrepublic ties were severed, before the war, and international sanctions, the drop is 44.7 percent. The increase in prices and the cost of living is the highest in the world. They have jumped 200 times to 19,942.7 percent!

Officials do not fail to emphasize that inflation has been brought to the same level as it was at the beginning of last year. In June of last year it was 102.8 percent. Special stress is put on November (before the elections) when inflation was at an unbelievable rate of 33.3 percent.

Hungry State

Giving awards to successful companies, and individuals, was clearly meant to support the claim that "sanctions are a challenge to our economy."

Flaunting so-called successes as a defense mechanism against sanctions should be taken with reservation. The statistics are extremely unreliable, and are being manipulated, said professor Dr. Tomislav Popovic, director of the Institute of Economic Sciences, in Belgrade. The situation is extremely bad. Besides the fall in production, we have hyperinflation, and a high rate of unemployment, and poverty. From the standpoint of our economy's performance, be it financial, technical, or export capabilities, the prospects are such that we cannot expect, even if the sanctions were to be lifted soon, our economy to recover until 1995, and then only to the level of 1989.

According to Professor Popovic, the psychological pressure of a military intervention from one side, and fear of great social unrest on the other, put the economy into second place. One is forced to live from day to day, wait for something to happen by itself, or to get accustomed to having sanctions for a long time.

In this respect, certain amortizations are being considered, the most important being hyperinflation. Money is being printed and it is being distributed to those who earn it, and to those who do not work. With this illusion of money, the most serious blows are softened, although, salaries and pensions, expressed in units of goods, are getting smaller and smaller. Even though salaries have nominally grown by 52 percent, which is also how much pensions will grow, personal income has been more than halved when compared with 1991, and is four times smaller than in 1987.

At the same time, the sales volume in retail business fell 62 percent when compared to the same period a year ago. Sanctions are felt even more in the wholesale trade. The present liberalization of prices for new products in the market place will not produce the desired effect either. Simply, people do not have enough money. Only the most needed items are being purchased. On the other hand, public consumption eats away 70 percent of the social product. And, the state will spend more and more, almost all.

Rough Calculation

Due to the impact of sanctions, or so it is being claimed, 298 companies went bankrupt, 284 of which were business organizations. Papers for bankruptcy proceedings were filed for as many as 3,276 enterprises with more than 200,000 unemployed. Insolvency is also conditioned by the inability to collect payment of claims from abroad, from public companies, and from the Yugoslav Army.

Foreign trade has been hit especially hard by sanctions. Imports and exports have been reduced to a minimum. According to the rough calculations of Dr, Dragana Djuric from the Economic Institute, in Belgrade, about 2.5 billion dollars have been lost on exports only, and 500 million less than that on imports. Expressed in percentages, this is 62 or 67 percent less than in 1991. The foreign trade deficit is $1,147 million."

Albert Gregorovic, general director of Jugoeksport, told NIN:

Jugoeksport is geared to the developed Western countries. A huge amount of our money has been seized there and we have to use external financial means in doing business, and interest rates are high. We had to significantly reduce the number of employees in our companies abroad, while other companies have been reduced to practically one man operations. We are losing our steady foreign partners, and when the sanctions are lifted, we will have to put a lot of effort into winning them back, and returning to where we were before. This is probably the gravest consequence of the sanctions.

Mr. Gregorovic cites one way of "getting around this situation," was to setup one part of the Jugoeksport system with headquarters in Cyprus. It will consolidate all of our foreign infrastructure in order for us to survive in the Western market.

Below the Line

The economic experts point out that in addition to private capital leaving the country, social capital is also leaving, in "national interest." Even before, there was no efficient control over this social capital (mainly banks), and one can only imagine what kind of sacrifices the directors in Cyprus, Vienna, Budapest, etc. will have to take.

But, one of the highest prices that we will have to pay, will be the price for the "brain drain." During the past year, 120,000, mostly young people, left the country. This accounts for five generations of our graduate students. The students' motto even today is: "Let me just graduate so I can immigrate." According to world standards, in order to educate some 100,000 people, one billion dollars is needed. To replenish this cadre potential we will need not only the same amount of money, which in today's circumstances we have less and less of, but also a time period of 10 years. The national interest has been jeopardized. And, long lines continue to form in front of the embassies in order to obtain visas.

Those who have not left, are forming lines in front of the private banks which give monthly interest rates higher than the normal world would give as annual interest.

A growing number of people are leaving voluntarily on "paid leave" and try it in the waters of the "gray economy." One foreign currency dealer said: "I make 20,000 to 30,000 dinars daily. In the factory, where I mostly sit and do nothing, I earn five times less."

More than 50 percent of the population is below the poverty line. This is comparable only with African countries. Suffice it to say, that one employed, feeds and clothes five unemployed.

Cheaper Promises

And what kind of concept is the government going to establish after the elections?

Dr. Tomislav Popovic said that the government of the majority without the cooperation of the major opposition parties, cannot survive because it cannot meet the challenges. A wider coalition is inevitable where the division will go along the capable-incapable, worn out-creative lines. If done like this, further intensification and tensions would subside and our chances for solving the problem would be much greater.

Professor Popovic believes that the first thing to be done is to ensure international legitimacy, and then the lifting of the sanctions, in order for us to gradually return to the international community. Through a consensus of all political factors, not only the burden of poverty should be redistributed, but we should also, in an organized manner, move towards an increase in production. The nouveau riche should be taxed appropriately while

making distinctions between war profiteers and successful businessmen. We cannot approach this in a demagogic way, it has to be through a firmly organized legal state.

Otherwise, in a couple of months everything may take an unpredictable, even more radical turn. It is not precluded that social tensions may produce political solutions which for now are out of sight, concluded Professor Popovic.

In his triumphant, post-election address to the people, the president of the republic of Serbia pointed out that peace, fighting corruption, and developing the economy as priorities. We heard similar promises after the elections that were held two years ago. At that time, salaries were equivalent to 1,000 German marks, today— less than 100. In the same period, the national income fell from $3,000 to $550. Once, we used to be the richest among the Eastern Europeans, and today, we are on the level of Chad, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and a few other African countries.

Proof that the trend still continues could be seen in the Christmas "greetings." Electricity, coal, oil products, bread...all went up in price.

This winter has been relatively mild which is good news for heating plants and electricity-distributors. But, as they say in Serbia: "The baby Christ is a fall saint." And, Easter is a long way off.

Counterfeit Dollars Reaching FRY

93BA0503C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 93 p 12

[Article by Spasenija Vujosevic: "Counterfeit Dollars Even From the Swiss Treasury"]

[Text] There is more and more counterfeit foreign money in Yugoslavia. However, success in detecting counterfeit money is also improving. Last year, the police discovered in Yugoslavia $547,000 worth of counterfeit foreign currencies, which is twice as much as in 1991, when the country had six republics. This counterfeit money reached our country by various routes, but it is known for certain that $19,600 arrived at one Belgrade bank from the Swiss Treasury!

The unpleasant case referred to occurred last month and only confirms that good counterfeiters can get by even Swiss inspection, which is proverbially thought to be the best in the world, and this was not thought to be possible.

New Discoveries

Nevertheless, that is exactly where the counterfeit U.S. "hundreds" came from to Belgrade, and then in an official shipment of dollars intended for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Belgrade, through a commercial bank. Official expert evaluation in the National Bank of Yugoslavia, however, confirmed the suspicion of an official in the bank's vault that this package contained counterfeit $100 bills. This money (196 bills) was immediately invalidated with a special stamp, and the Commissioner for Refugees, instead of dollars, received a certificate of confiscation and a report on the expert evaluation written in English.

Did these dollars, like many other counterfeit dollars involved in transactions from one pocket, cash drawer, or bank safe to another, originate in Tehran, the Iranian capital?

"In mid-December of last year, the French newspaper LE MONDE published an article prepared by a team of Republican representatives in the U.S. House of Representatives in which such an assertion was made," says Miodrag Todorovski, our expert for establishing the validity of foreign currency in the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

The French newspaper published the U.S. statement to the effect that the Iranian Government "in collaboration with Syria" had entered upon a large undertaking to counterfeit dollars "in order to diminish its financial difficulties and continue the war against the West."

The article explained that the Khomeini regime, taking advantage of experience gained during the shah's reign when it came to making bank notes, was able to master the complicated printing techniques so that it was capable of making almost perfect counterfeit dollars. This report to the U.S. Congress explained that these dollars were first "tested" locally in the Near East and then shipped to Europe. Finally, it is said, they also reached the United States, thanks to the connections of the Hasbollah, the Lebanese pro-Iranian Movement.

The amount of counterfeit U.S. money discovered is $287,671, which was in various denominations. The value of counterfeit German marks discovered is $258,875, while there is a low percentage of counterfeiting of drachmas, lire, and Swiss and French francs, Todorovski said.

Monetary Warfare

The counterfeit $100 bill has been cropping up more and more frequently and in ever greater quantities, and this is also confirmed by our experts in the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Warnings from Interpol to that effect are arriving continually.

"These bank notes are very difficult to detect, because there is no significant defect in the manufacture. Perfect forgeries like these have in fact been done earlier— usually with the sponsorship of some state," Todorovski said.

A monetary strike has been resorted to instead of a coup d'etat several times in history, but best known is Germany's attempt in World War II to destabilize in this way the English economy and thereby a hostile European state. Millions of counterfeit pounds sterling were printed, and even 20 years after the war they were still

moving undetected through official channels. How good a forgery that was is confirmed by the datum that the English sent this forgery to Switzerland for expert evaluation and received a confirmation that this was real money.

"Last year, we detected 11 new types of counterfeit foreign currency which were not known to Interpol, which keeps a register with descriptions of several thousand forgeries," Todorovski explained.

In our banks and currency exchange offices, there have been 488 cases when the equivalent dinar value was paid out for counterfeit money as though it were real. These have by and large been very good forgeries which got by the cashiers.

"According to bank regulations, cashiers make up the loss out of their own pay if they miss a bad forgery. Indemnity is paid by the insurance company only for the mediocre forgery, which is the least common," Todorovski explains.

In our country, there are four descriptive adjectives for the skill of the counterfeiter—very good, good, mediocre, and poor. The Germans, for example, have 16 such degrees, some of which are even described as "dangerous."

Interpol also has several gradations in describing forgeries, but for sake of convenience, they are also simplified and reduced to a few.

The Case of the Woman Who Was Cheated

"Nevertheless, on the territory of the entire former Yugoslavia in 1991 there were 691 intentional or unintentional attempts to sell counterfeit money, while last year there were 1,329 cases on this smaller territory. There were cases when the owners themselves suspected that they had counterfeit money, and so they sent it in for expert evaluation through a commercial bank. There have been various unpleasant situations, but one which we found very difficult was that of a woman who had a counterfeit German bank note for 1,000 marks. She intended to buy her apartment with this and other bank notes. It turned out that the suspicion of the Bank of Vojvodina was warranted," Todorovski recounted.

At the moment, more than 50 percent of the requests for expert evaluation, which is much more common than in the earlier Yugoslavia, are coming from the Dafiment Bank. Most of the suspicions are warranted, for which the experienced teller should be given credit. Thus, a majority of those who have attempted to pass counterfeit money for real money are well-known. The Crime Control Administration of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs conducts a further investigation as to whether they had bad intentions or were naive.

The National Office of Interpol for Yugoslavia is informed about all these discoveries, and so is the Interpol General Secretariat, which has not expelled us from its membership in spite of the embargo. After all, it is well-known that no treasury is immune to counterfeit money. So information about the traffic of counterfeit money in Yugoslavia in 1993 intended for them will not be stopped at the border.

[Box, p 12]

Dangerous Copiers

It is indispensable that laser color copiers, on which it is possible to make a very good counterfeit money, be registered, and their sales placed under control.

"This conclusion has already been reached at the international level. It is being demanded that a chip with a memory be installed in these machines that will turn them off if someone attempts to copy money. In Belgrade, from what I have learned, there are about 20 such machines. Even the National Bank of Yugoslavia was unable to obtain such a machine, although we need it because of the job, for the simple purpose of anticipating any possibility of abuse," Todorovski said.

Reserve of Oil Derivatives Depleted

93BA0508B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 93 p 32

[Article by J.P.: "Montenegro: Petroleum Products for Just 20 Days"]

[Text] Belgrade—In spite of the strictly planned distribution, Montenegro does not have sufficient petroleum products for its priority consumers, so that industrial plants will soon be shut down. There is gasoline and diesel fuel for motor vehicles to last another 20 days, but even in February it is most likely that they will not even get coupons, BORBA was told yesterday by Branko Pavlicic, commercial director of Jugopetrol in Kotor.

"There is not even fuel for priorities even though the Aluminum Combine has been shut down, and the same thing will happen to the steel mill in Niksic. Montenegro's entire industry is shutting down—except for food production, and even they will not get petroleum products unless the approval comes from the United Nations for us to import fuel for humanitarian purposes," Pavlicic said.

There is just enough fuel to keep industrial plants "warm," so there will not be a breakdown, and all available quantities have been allocated to hospitals, children's institutions, and food production. Because of the stricter control, fuel is not reaching the port of Bar, and the reserves will not last longer than 15 to 20 days, so that all hopes are being placed on the petroleum for humanitarian purposes.

Montenegro-Serbia Economic Cooperation

93BA0508C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 93 p 16

[Interview with Vojin Djukanovic, president of the Montenegrin Chamber of Commerce, by BORBA; place and date not given: "With Serbia and Settled Accounts"]

[Text] The several months of the blockade have had disastrous consequences for Montenegro. Collectives which until recently were the backbone of development, such as the Podgorica Aluminum Combine, the steel mill in Niksic, Obod in Cetinje, the port of Bar, the maritime industry, are shutting down or are already shut down. There is hardly anyone in the republic who knows how many workers are on mandatory leave or have been discharged. Economic flows with the former Yugoslav republics have been disrupted, and the incursion of day-to-day politics into economics in the new state of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] is every day disturbing economic cooperation between Montenegro and Serbia. This was the occasion for the interview with Vojin Djukanovic, engineer and president of the republic Chamber of Commerce.

[BORBA] How is economic cooperation between Montenegro and Serbia at the moment?

[Djukanovic] Under the conditions of the sanctions, economic cooperation with Serbia has been relatively good. Montenegro is marketing almost 80 percent of its products on the Serbian market. Cooperation has been mainly among metal and metallurgical combines. The steel mill in Niksic, for example, is marketing most of its products in Serbia; specifically, Crvena Zastava in Kragujevac. A contract has been concluded with the Serbian Electric Power Industry on the use of the Piva Hydroelectric Power Plant, and the firms 14 Oktobar, Prva Petoljetka, and the Podgorica Aluminum Combine also have good cooperation. Obod, shoe and textile factories, the brewery, the salt plant, and other firms are highly interdependent.

[BORBA] Is that cooperation based on market principles?

[Djukanovic] Even under these difficult conditions, all economic cooperation with Serbia is based on market principles. Specifically, the contract between the electric power industries of the two republics was signed for a period of 25 years, and it is based precisely on market principles. That is how it is with the other branches of the economy as well.

[BORBA] Nevertheless, we have been hearing more and more frequently, especially when it comes to buying food, that Montenegro is a "republic being supported."

[Djukanovic] Montenegro is spending what it itself earns. All the rest are idle stories. As for food purchases, the government of Serbia adopted a decree on the marketing of food outside this republic, "covering" the Montenegrin food balance from Serbia. Certain problems have arisen here and there, but everything is proceeding as agreed. Socialized and private firms are purchasing food in Montenegro, but from commodity reserves. Incidentally, if we also count the summer tourists, Montenegro needs about $38.5 million every year to purchase food, which is barely 40 percent of the trade surplus which we had in 1990. When we compare this to the annual output of the aluminum combine, which is $150 million, it turns out that Montenegro is able to purchase all necessary food on its own.

[BORBA] At what price?

[Djukanovic] Some products are far more expensive than world prices. However, the government compensates the support price for food producers in Serbia.

[BORBA] Some politicians say that "Montenegro cannot survive without Serbia," while others say that "Montenegro can make it on its own." You have been a business executive for a long time; what is your comment on that?

[Djukanovic] The people voted for an equal Montenegro as a federal unit within the framework of the FRY. That suits the Montenegrin economy, because there are products which are in great demand on the world market, and they can serve as a sufficient substitute for foreign exchange to buy production supplies, raw materials.... It should also be borne in mind that in 1990 we had a trade surplus of $90 million. Which means that Montenegro can independently compete on the foreign or domestic market with its own resources, equipment, and personnel. However, it is a good thing for Montenegro to be in a federation, of course, in a federation in which the economy operates on market principles. Articles 2, 77, and 115 of the FRY Constitution define precisely the economic principles on which the federal state is based. So, Montenegro is in favor of a federal state, but a state with settled accounts. In that sense, the government of Montenegro has not adopted a single piece of legislation or decree that would be contrary to that commitment. Some politicians who want to get in power are not scrupulous about the means they use to accuse the government in Montenegro of being against Serbia and against Serbism in general. However, they are actually fighting to create a unitary state in which Montenegro would be subordinated or would not even exist at all. That observation is confirmed, is it not, by those speakers in the federal parliament who use Montenegro as a bargaining chip?

[BORBA] In principle, Montenegro is moving more and more in the direction of privatization. What is your comment on the leasing of the luxury city, the Sveti Stefan Hotel?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro is moving toward the institution of plural ownership in which primacy is to be given to private ownership. As for Sveti Stefan, the government of Montenegro and Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic concluded a contract in 1992 whereby Sveti Stefan is leased

to Mr. Vasiljevic for a period of five years. The price of that arrangement was $500 million, and Mr. Vasiljevic has paid three installments. Because of the international sanctions, this contract is "in abeyance," and the government of Montenegro has protected itself in the contract against all possible disagreements. For the present, there is no need for Montenegro to change that contract. I hope that the dispute between the workers of Sveti Stefan and Mr. Vasiljevic will soon be resolved.

Serbia

U.S. Journalist in 'Hands of Justice'

AU2901213793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Excerpt] The fact that the truth is the first victim of all wars has been primarily felt by the Serbian people themselves. Since the beginning of the breaking up of the former Yugoslavia, a powerful media campaign has been blaming just Serbs for all the troubles in this region. This needed top Western journalists, who, working under the dictate of their bosses, transformed lies into truth for their public. One such journalist, as well as an intelligence officer, is still in our country, but is in the hands of justice. Let us look at this report:

[Begin Vlado Slijepcevic report] The extent of the media campaign against the Serbs is best illustrated by the intelligence activities of our U.S. colleague Roy Gatman, NEWSDAY's European correspondent in Bonn. These documents, as well as the diary of a captured British mercenary, Robert (Allen Losthouse) from Nottingham, confirm that Gatman, who is a personal friend of many important people in the U.S. Administration, had numerous associates on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

[Begin Lieutenant Colonel M. Milutinovic recording] The name of Roy Gatman and his emblem [oznaka] 2-1C—with whom this mercenary kept in touch and informed him on concentration camps, ethnic cleansing, the raping of Muslim women, and so forth—has been mentioned in several places in these numerous documents. I personally know that around 2 August he published an article in NEWSDAY in which he claimed that the Serbian side had many concentration camps in the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. On the basis of this, the U.S. Administration subsequently had the Serbs condemned for running concentration camps. This happened again after his article on ethnic cleansing at the end of September. Considering this voluminous evidence, he was probably able to present this successfully. [as heard] His people there probably believed him. [end recoding] [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Insists No Grounds for Intervention

LD3101174393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 31 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 31 (TANJUG)—Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated there were no grounds for a military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) or the Bosnian Serbs, but against the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Speaking at a press conference to a group of 28 visiting Greek journalists on Saturday [30 January] evening, he assessed there was grounds for a possible intervention against the Croatian Army in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina or Croatia itself because of its invasion on the U.N.-Protected Area (UNPA), from where Croatia arrogantly defies calls to withdraw its troops.

Since the outset of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina ten months ago, some 60,000 Croatia's troops were active there. Croatia has departed on a fresh military adventure on January 22 when it began aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), predominatly populated by Serbs, and which is a UNPA. Croatia failed to halt the aggression even after the U.N. Security Council twice issued warnings for it to withdraw its troops to the positions they held previously.

The Serbian foreign minister said that now even the countries, such as Germany, could not close their eyes before Croatia's crimes.

Germany, which procured international recognition for Croatia by the European community, warned Croatian President Franjo Tudjman he must halt the aggression on the UNPA.

Jovanovic set out there was no grounds for a military intervention against the F.R.Y. or the Bosnian Serbs, because Serbia and Serbs were the chief protagonists of the political solution to the Bosnian and Yugoslav crises.

Asked by the Greek newsmen to comment some indications that U.S. President Bill Clinton could call for lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Jovanovic stressed he did not believe Clinton could opt for such an adventurist move.

Sandzak Party Denies Organizing 'Subversion'

AU2801181293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Text] On the occasion of yesterday's report about a group of Sandzak people arrested near Rudo for subversion, the Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak in Novi Pazar denies having any connections with organizing such groups. This party sent a letter today to the United Nations claiming that the situation in this part of Yugoslavia has been deteriorating. Bisera Vukasinovic has the details:

[Begin Vukasinovic recording] The Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak is not organizing saboteur groups, party secretary Rasim Ljajic claims, and accuses reporters in the war regions of exaggeration. Judging from these reports, Ljajic says, it seems that only Sandzak people are fighting in Bosnia, being arrested, and being killed. Even if there are as many Sandzak people as there are Chinese, this would still be an exaggeration, people in the Party of Democratic Action say.

This party sent a letter to eight addressees today—including the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia—which warns of the aggravation of the situation in the border communes of Priboj and Pljevlja, and claims that 60 percent of the Muslim population of these communes has already emigrated. This is why the party is asking the United Nations and the Yugoslavia conference to deploy international observer missions along the border between Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, send blue helmets to this region, and begin the negotiations on solving the Sandzak issue within the Geneva talks as soon as possible. [end recording]

Heating Oil for Refugees Arrives in Belgrade

LD0102110593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 1 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—The first delivery of a total of 6,000 tonnes of oil, to be imported by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to heat facilities for mass accommodation of refugees, arrived in the Smederevo refinery this morning, TANJUG was told by representatives of the UNHCR's Belgrade office.

Today, 790 tonnes of oil were delivered to the Smederevo refinery and a further 2,100 tonnes are expected in the next few days. The remaining 2,500 tonnes will arrive in the next few weeks, the Office of the High Commissioner says.

The UN Committee for Sanctions gave permission to the UNHCR to import oil in mid-December, but, TANJUG's Belgrade office was told, bureaucratic procedures postponed the delivery.

Serbia's republic commission for refugees says that the oil delivered this morning is insufficient to heat about 80 facilities sheltering refugees, but the commission hopes that the problem will be solved in cooperation with the UNHCR.

Socialists, Radicals Elected Deputy Chairmen

AU2801124493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 28 Jan 93

[Report by Zoran Vaskovic from the Serbian Assembly]

[Text] In the second part of the session, the deputies elected four deputy chairmen for the Serbian Assembly. Two candidates of the Socialist Party of Serbia were elected: Miroljub Mladenovic, a civil engineer from Leskovac, and Zoran Cetkovic, former Serbian minister of justice. Two representatives of the Serbian Radical Party were also elected as deputy chairmen of the Assembly: Ljubisa Petkovic and Dragan Todorovic. Let me mention that the Democratic Movement of Serbia has rejected one offered seat of deputy chairman of the Assembly which belongs to it according to its number of deputies. The session also considered proposals for the body of the Assembly commissions. A break was announced half an hour ago.

Confiscated Serbian Petroleum in Bar Port

93BA0508A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 93 p 32

[Article by Lj. Mudresa: "Confiscated Serbian Petroleum Still in the Port of Bar"]

[Text] Podgorica—There still has been no official response or denial as to whether Jugoskandik's petroleum (read "Serbian") in the port of Bar was confiscated by Montenegro, and no one in the ministries and competent agencies wants to discuss that subject.

According to what our sources say unofficially, the entire dispute over the petroleum has been conducted in private between Master Jezda and a representative of Montenegro. We have thus learned that the confiscated petroleum is worth 3 million German marks [DM], and that if Mr. Vasiljevic does not meet his obligations that foreign exchange will be relinquished to a private bank in Podgorica. The other day, according to that version, Jezdimir Vasiljevic withdrew his founding investment (25 percent of the total value) from the private bank, so that the confiscated petroleum, after being sold, would be used to meet the obligations which Jugoskandik has toward the first private commercial bank in Podgorica.

So far, no one in the management of that bank has been willing to talk about it; however, we have learned that for several days now the bank has been unable to meet its obligations—to pay out foreign exchange to its savings depositors in the form of interest or principal, for which Jugoskandik stands as guarantor. Anyway, the case of Master Jezda's petroleum occurred at the time when the contract to lease the island of Sveti Stefan is in serious jeopardy.

Milosevic, Italian Neofascist Ties Reported

93BA0498A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Jan 93 p 5

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "Milosevic Is Becoming Brothers With the Neofascists"]

[Text] *As early as 1991, Fini and Milosevic divided up the Adriatic; the Serbs brought out a map of "Greater Slovenia" that Kardelj and Tito supposedly planned with Churchill's support; violation of the sanctions against Serbia.*

The proposals for a revision of the Osimo agreements and the increasingly more frequent demands for changing the Italian border with the former Yugoslavia are not coincidental at all. This is only a revival of the agreements already concluded between Italian neofascist organizations and Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia. It is interesting that the Serbian party from which known war criminals came during World War II had the same name.

The Serbian military and political leadership already established contacts with Italian right-wing parties in 1984, when Slobodan Milosevic, then still the director of Tehnogas, started "commercial" cooperation with Gianfranco Gambassini and Giovanni Battisto Licata, who are businessmen to the public but otherwise suspicious individuals, with close links to organized crime and drugs. Licata was already known then as one of the main organizers of the international smuggling of weapons, firearms, and explosives. This did not bother either Milosevic or the SFRY Government at that time, since that channel could be used to export many weapons and other things to countries against which the United Nations had imposed an embargo. On the other hand, Licata was and still is, just like President of the List for Trieste Gambassini, a generous benefactor of the Orthodox Church in Trieste, the Serbian lobby there, and the SFRY Consulate General (which is still operating freely).

Fini-Milosevic Agreement

More serious political contacts with the two abovementioned people, and also with Fini, leader of Movimento Sociale Italiano, came at the end of 1991, when this neofascist, as part of a "parliamentary visit to friendly Serbia," started a conversation about "analyzing the problems that would arise with the collapse of Yugoslavia," in regard to which he cited "the fact that Yugoslavia, as a signatory of the Osimo agreements, no longer exists, and consequently the treaties that it signed are no longer in effect either." Essentially, Fini and Milosevic then compiled a quite specific draft agreement on a partition of the Adriatic, Albania, and parts of those republics which had then already left Yugoslavia. In doing so both sides cited a sort of "study of the annexation of parts of Austrian, Italian, and Hungarian territory in connection with the establishment of a Greater United Slovenia," which was allegedly prepared in 1944 by the Communist Party of Slovenia and the Comintern with the support of Josip Broz and Edvard Kardelj. It is essentially a forgery that is circulating in both Serbia and Italy, and was invented as early as 20 years ago by Italian irredentists in cooperation with pro-Cetnik circles and the Serbian Orthodox church in Trieste. Milosevic and then Serbian Defense Minister General Tomislav Simonovic told Fini and Socialist Senator Agnelli that Serbia and the JLA [Yugoslav People's Army] had information confirming that the above-mentioned study was registered on 11 October 1944 under number 289/44 and that from it, "one could discern in detail the political, geographic, economic, and strategic aspects of the new border, primarily with Italy." They even provided the Italians with the map of "Greater Slovenia" that was allegedly planned by Tito and Kardelj, moreover with Winston Churchill's support. Serbia, in order to help correct the "injustice," proposed mutual assistance to the Italians in international pressure to have the Osimo agreements annulled or at least revised. The next, and most important meeting (although conferences and mutual visits did not end with it), at which quite specific agreements were also signed, was on 15 December in Slankamen. On the same day, at the invitation of the Serbian government, President of the neo-fascist List for Trieste Gianfranco Gambassini, Socialist Senator Arduino Agnelli, President of the irredentist Association of Istrian and Dalmatian Refugees Sardos Albertini, and Christian Democratic state councillor Alberto Donaggi gathered there, and on the Serbian side, Slobodan Milosevic, Radoman Bozovic, Mihalj Kertes, "member of the government of the Serbian Republic" Biljana Plavsic, Velibor Ostojic, and Vojislav Seselj came. Among the subjects that were discussed, the one in the foreground was "economic and political cooperation between Belgrade and the Trieste region and Friuli," which actually concealed modifying the old forms of violating the sanctions against Serbia and introducing new ones. Thus, through an agreement between the above-mentioned Italian parliamentary group and the Serbian leadership, a contract was signed according to which the already well-known private enterprise Joka-Agent was turned into a joint Italian-Bosnia-Hercegovina import-export enterprise. Nikola Koljevic was named owner of this enterprise, with a 40-percent share, Arkan's worshipper Biljana Plavsic, who allegedly had 5 percent of the value of the enterprise, was named co-owner, and the rest was allocated for the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was actually a crude forgery, and appeared thanks to Jovan Divjak and Zejnet Delalic, who until recently were key figures in Bosnia-Hercegovina's Territorial Defense. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government's stamps were forged, and likewise the documents on establishing Joka-Agent. The signer on behalf of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government was Velibor Ostojic. And what was Joka-Agent supposed to be involved with? As a joint enterprise, it can establish other smaller enterprises under the offshore system, including in the states of the former Yugoslavia, and through them, buy things that are needed by Serbia, but in such a way that it would appear from the documents that they were products intended for further resale or humanitarian assistance for Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is particularly important for citizens of the republic in which the offshore enterprise is established to appear as owners of the enterprise, while exclusively Italian citizens and close collaborators of the above-mentioned Italian deputies or they themselves would be named as an outside partner and owner of the enterprise. This would avoid all the problems that could arise in transportation through Slovenia and Croatia, and furthermore, the "owner" of the enterprise or agency in Croatia or any other state would not even need to know the enterprise's real owner. It would be sufficient for him to

receive 15 percent of the turnover as a reward. Such enterprises, according to reliable and well-informed sources, have been and still are intended for laundering money. The proceeds from the sale of drugs or any other illicit transaction, for example, are transferred on the basis of fictitious invoices or orders to the offshore enterprise, which uses that money to "buy or make a loan to" a third party, who is also a member of the Serbian-Italian chain. There is a great deal of reliable information that indicates that some of those enterprises will also be established in Croatia, and also in Austria and other Western states, through the mediation of a certain Zagreb enterprise that started to operate just three weeks ago and sets relatively flexible conditions for mediating and establishing those companies. The second part of the agreement concluded between the Italian and Trieste and Serbian politicians deals with "the problem of the border between Italy, especially Friuli, and the former Yugoslav republics." In the talks on revising the Osimo agreements, Milosevic emphasized that "the borders between Italy and parts of the former Yugoslavia cannot be negotiated on just by Croatia and Slovenia, because the only legal successor to the SFRY, which was the signer of the Osimo agreements, is the present FRY." He particularly insisted that the issue of compensation for or the return of the real estate abandoned by the Italian refugees after World War II be raised in contacts with Croatia and Slovenia. The FRY, as the signer of the Osimo agreements, would decisively support "correcting" the above-mentioned "injustices." It would do this by simultaneously with Italy raising the problem of returning the property of Yugoslavia and its citizens that was "appropriated" by the former Yugoslav republics Croatia and Slovenia. The Trieste politicians completely agreed with this, and promised that they would also bring up the return of Italian property (former, of course) in the Italian parliament. In connection with this it was decided that "if it is not possible to get back the real estate, Italy has to demand compensation in the form of territory, either at sea or on land." According to the agreement concluded between the Italian and Serbian representatives, "the best solution would be one under which Italy would unite its territorial waters with the territorial waters of Montenegro, and both would be expanded at the expense of the Croatian and Slovene ones. Just because of Serbia's and Montenegro's historical ties with Italy, it would be necessary to insist on restudying the Italian-Slovene, Italian-Croatian, and Italian-Albanian borders, since at the will of the Comintern, Tito and Kardelj, and Great Britain and the United States, they were drawn at the expense of Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro. Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro still have an inalienable right to all the areas where members of these nationalities live, regardless of whether new states have arisen there in the meantime."

Italy Up to Jesenice

A list of disputed territories was attached to the agreement. According to the concept of the Serbian and Italian fascists, a large part of Slovenia is supposed to belong to Italy, all the way up to Jesenice in the north and Koper in the south, while Croatia would have to give up almost all of Istria, Kvarner Island, and a considerable part of Dalmatia. The Albanian border at sea and on land would be moved in such a way that that state would only be left an insigificant piece of the coast, and it would also be left without Peskopeja, Kuks, and Shadar. That the people in Slankamen were thinking seriously was proven, among other things, by the establishment of a commission which, in the name of the Italian Government, would negotiate on "all chapters of the Osimo agreements signed with the former Yugoslavia." It is not at all a coincidence that this commission was established after the Italian delegation's return from Serbia. At that time it was also clearly stated that "the Italian side will insist that both republics of the former Yugoslavia have to compensate for or return the Italian refugees' real estate." Since it was furthermore said that "the borders will not be discussed," it would be interesting to know how else the real estate could be returned. Bringing up issues like that could accumulate unpleasantness for almost all of Europe, but that is far from bothering "great advocates of peace" like Milosevic and Gambassini.

Covert Serbian Intelligence Operation Abroad

93BA0498B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Jan 93 p 4

[Article by Kresimir Meler and Mirjana Glusac: "False Refugees From Opera"]

[Text] "Opera is dead; long live the opera!" But on no account think that this has to do with the collapse of an opera house and the appearance of a new one on its foundations. The matter is far more prosaic, and not at all associated either with an ear for music or music in general, but rather with the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the present Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and with the struggle for power within the security services administration, better known under the name KOS [Counterintelligence Service].

It started in July 1991, when Serbian President Milosevic and his adherents among the generals, among whom the most influential were then chief of the First Air Force and Air Defense Corps Bozidar Stevanovic and Lieutenant General Zivan Mircetic, expressed dissatisfaction with the "serious slips that have led to wrong decisions and incorrect information, as a result of which the air force and antiaircraft defense have been ineffective in the war against the Slovene paramilitary formations, and had serious difficulties in carrying out war tasks in Croatia (...). Some important and top secret information has gotten into the hands of the enemy and even been published in the enemy press, and this can be explained only by the incompetence of some officials in the JLA's security administration." The consequence of such statements was the establishment of a "group for information-propaganda work," called Opera. Officially, it was supposed to have been established in order to "eavesdrop on the enemy," but in just three months its

real nature was exposed upon the attempt to remove Veljko Kadijevic from the position of Federal Secretary for National Defense. The operation was exposed thanks to General Aleksandar Vasiljevic and Lieutenant Colonel Radosav Mitrovic, who "infiltrated" the members of Opera in order to expose the background behind its activity, and participated in the investigation of its leaders (in May 1992 they were jailed for a few days, but otherwise nothing bad happened to them), and was found shot in the head a month ago in the woods on Avala near Belgrade. Opera was "destroyed" in April 1991, or at least Adzic and Vasiljevic thought so. They miscalculated, however, since in a month they were also removed themselves, and the arrested leaders of Opera, who also included former officials in the Croatian LC Central Committee and the Croatian Ministry of Interna! Affairs Radenko Radojcic and Slavko Milobabic, were released from prison and sent "to work abroad," where they collected at least 150 million marks for the KOS and Opera, 15 million of it through the firm Britannica Finance Ltd.

A full two months ago, Opera started to work again with a new impetus, this time as a "special service of the FRY Army's security administration for aggressive intelligence work against all forces in the state and abroad that might work or are working against the FRY and especially against Serbia. Its task is also to establish contacts with people in foreign ministries and other institutions who are in the kind of positions in which they could obtain useful information," according to the decision on establishing it, Top Secret No. 197/74-92. Although it was emphasized in the decision that the service was organized for defensive purposes, the real purposes are apparent from the part of the decision where it is stated that "in the present and probably also future military and political situation, the intelligence service has to be much more diligent and decisive than in the past in gathering information about the armed forces of neighboring and enemy states, and states that could threaten the intelligence or military-strategic interests of the FRY, Serbia, and Orthodoxy, for which Serbia is a defensive bulwark. It is necessary to obtain information about the distribution of military bases, the types and power of weapons, strategically important points, and especially the locations of centers for communications and electronic surveillance, and also information about electronic security systems. It will be necessary to find out as quickly as possible where the reserve positions for military and political leaderships are, what the system for protection against electronic interference and cryptographic protection is like, and also where individual hostile politicians and high-level officers who could misuse their influence for actions against the FRY's interests reside."

Hydra Plan

The plan that describes Opera's operations abroad in detail was named Hydra, i.e., after the underwater animal with a whole series of poisonous tentacles, which can be immediately replaced with new ones if they are injured. The plan says that "after the Yugoslav Army withdrew from the previously specified borders and the armed forces of the Serbian republics remained, the problem of the security of the Serbian minority in areas that we no longer control arose. The international circumstances that are extremely unfavorable for the FRY forced us to give up military operations on the territory of Croatia and decide on other methods of battle. The experiences of other intelligence services indicate that in order to protect the rights of a people that is or can be threatened and improve its position overall, it is of decisive importance to sow unrest and fear in the ranks of the majority people."

To start with, they planned for the operation of about 1,800 KOS colleagues and the reestablishment of contacts with individual colleagues from the ranks of retired and reserve JLA officers. They also did not forget about former colleagues in the State Security Service and the KOS, whose dossiers were sent to Belgrade at the end of 1990 and the beginning of 1991 by Branko Travizuk, a former official in the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and a close colleague of current adviser in the Croatian Defense Ministry Josip Perkovic. They thought that it would be necessary "to organize strike groups, groups for subversive activity, groups for gray propaganda, and groups for special assignments." The groups that were to be or have already been sent to Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, and the EC states had priority. What is the task of the "quiet neighbors," who are part of a gray propaganda group? They are supposed to gather information quietly on everything that happens around them in order to facilitate the work of the other groups. There is even an instruction that says that they have to be "as cautious as possible in contacts with the local population, and they have to condemn not only the Serbian military formations, but also all inhabitants of Serbian nationality who did not participate actively in the battles on the Croatian side, but instead joined in the battle against Croatia. Wherever possible, it is necessary to participate in all possible ways in nationally slanted political parties, and at the same time also to carry out all other activities that can strengthen confidence in our people and lead to useful information. In the field, it is necessary to establish contacts with colleagues from other nationalities and cooperate with them, but one must never talk about the information being sent or received."

False Refugees

That is just the beginning of the intelligence network. It also includes a large number of people who pretend that they are "refugees who have been left without documents." When they request refugee status they provide the data of some unfortunate person whom they know is dead. Sometimes they also bring their families into exile with them (once again with false documents, or without them), in order to make their story more convincing. With the false refugee documents, they then join other refugees or take up residence in a refugee camp.

Particularly interesting is the Zagreb settlement of Zitnjak, where refugees come and go and take up residence in houses without any sort of control and with the support of individual local authorities. Also interesting is the fact that the terrorist groups and intelligence officers also have at their disposal other members of Labradorac, who have never been exposed, but are known to have infiltrated—while new people have allegedly also come—into individual positions in the Croatian Army and the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and also the institutions of other states where they cannot make decisions, to be sure, but it is possible to obtain very interesting information that is important to the enemy side.

The fact that in the meantime the trial of the former Opera's leaders, who are being charged with terrorism and planting bombs in the Jewish municipality in Zagreb, has begun still does not mean that the Yugoslav armed forces and their intelligence service will renounce terrorist actions in "enemy states" in the future. Radojcic and his pals will certainly be found innocent on all charges, especially since they have officially already taken over control of intelligence centers in Western Europe and overseas countries. Radojcic is thus, at least on paper, the owner of one of the numerous enterprises that have been registered through the London company Hugo Winckler, and at the same time he has also participated in establishing several agencies for financial engineering. So far these agencies, in Croatia alone, have taken at least 150 million marks intended for financing Opera out of the local treasury. Former FRY ambassador to Cyprus Peter Boskovic is supposed to have taken care of expanding the intelligence services to Western Europe and the Middle East.

Since they have established the intelligence centers as private enterprises, in doing so they have made use of the quite lenient laws of foreign states, according to which the identity of a stockholder or owner of a newly established enterprise may be known only by the Central Bank and the lawyer who acts as a middleman in establishing the enterprise. The enterprises thus established primarily have to collect the above-mentioned information, lure into their ranks high military officials in those states, keep the foreign exchange funds collected, and if there is an opportunity, buy more and open discretionary funds for the intelligence service. In that way Dafinament, Yugoskandik, Yugobanka, and the Karic Brothers have opened their representations—under a foreign name, of course—in Croatia, Austria, Poland, the Netherlands, and several other states.

In this regard one should be aware that several other enterprises that are likewise collecting money for Serbian needs are also participating in this chain, and that they have allocated as much as 30 percent of the money intended for "strengthening the FRY's defensive strength" for the operation of the intelligence service. American Information Systems, and its vice president Todd Urosevich are providing abundant assistance in financing the FRY's intelligence service; an account has been opened in his name in one of Yugobanka's American branches, and is used to pay out funds for the work of the intelligence network in the United States. In recent years, through that account alone the counterintelligence service has "turned around" more than $700 million. Furthermore, the intelligence centers in Europe are financed through this account and the enterprises registered through the Hugo Winckler company in London. They are hidden under the name Sneden Inc. and similar ones, and are active in London, Maastricht, Bielefeld, Vienna, and numerous other European cities. Members of the intelligence service have also infiltrated Hungary, Switzerland (the resident is the Pilatos enterprise), Sweden, and France.

[Box, p 4]

The infiltrated members of the intelligence service also include many Muslims and Croats. Problems also arise, however, because of the difficulty of identifying individuals. Since more than 140,000 people are locked up in camps, and at least as many have been killed, it is not difficult to invent new identities for members of the intelligence service. Ljubisa Stoimirovic from Belgrade, Zeljko Barsac from Licka Kaldrma, and Drage J. Marjanovic from Bosanski Novi, among others, thus came to Croatia and Slovenia with forged personal documents. They also include a considerable number of "beggars" for whom "everything has been burnt," and also ones who come into a house whose owner has left on business, stay in it for a while, and then leave, while new people come into it. Two intelligence officers who have on them forged documents or documents taken away from people who have been killed or camp inmates are moving around Croatia and Slovenia. They appear as Samir Droca and Sejdo Seferovic, but they are actually Radivoje Butic and Rako Kosutic.

Macedonia

President, Speaker on Dispute Over Name

PM0102101093 Paris LE MONDE in French 29 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov by Yves Heller in Skopje on 26 January: "Macedonia Wishes To Remain Macedonia"]

[Text] Skopje—The "war of the name" has been going on for more than a year and people here seem no more prepared than in the past to compromise on the name of the republic. It has been Macedonia for almost 50 years, according to the unanimous view in Skopje, and it is under this name alone that it must be internationally recognized now that the Yugoslav Federation, of which it was part, has vanished.

"We have not taken a name in order to change it," President Kiro Gligorov stressed at a time when the UN Security Council is about to witness the final battle in a long conflict which has seen Greece mobilizing the entire

EC to prevent the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which has proclaimed its independence—like its former sisters in Yugoslavia—from being recognized under this name of Macedonia which Athens thinks belongs exclusively to the Greek heritage.

And in an interview which he granted to LE MONDE on Tuesday 26 January, Mr. Gligorov expressed surprise at the insistence with which Greece is trying to strip Macedonia of the only name it has had for around 50 years. He blames an "emotionally charged atmosphere" for the lack of "rational decisions" which has characterized this matter for months. However, he said with reference to the nationalist fever which has gripped Greece with regard to this affair, "those who whip up these emotions become hostages to them."

"No Territorial Claim"

While reaffirming his country's determination not to abandon its name, he wondered "why there is an insistence on this aspect" of the question when the important aspect lies elsewhere; for instance, in the conclusion of "security agreements" possibly internationally guaranteed, "to clearly show that we have no (territorial—LE MONDE editor's note) claim on Greece." "We are open to all discussions," President Gligorov emphasized, reviewing the history of the initiatives taken by his government to try to solve the crisis. To show that Skopje, contrary to what Athens says, had no territorial claims on its neighbors, "we have changed our Constitution, but the Greeks said it was not enough. We proposed a bilateral agreement to mutually guarantee the border, whereas they said that another government could abandon that agreement. We proposed that this agreement be guaranteed by the international community, whereas they said that that was not enough. We proposed an agreement like the German-Polish agreement, but we have not received any reply...." And Mr. Gligorov concluded: "Why is there so much emphasis on this (Macedonian—LE MONDE editor's note) people changing their name? Is the aim to ensure that they are stripped of their identity? What guarantee do we have that there will not be another demand later?"

The EEC Has Not Taken a "Serious" Attitude

Despite the policy of obstruction followed by Greece, Mr. Gligorov wants to be "cooperative" and says he is "prepared to meet with Mr. Mitsotakis (the Greek prime minister—LE MONDE editor's note) here—in Skopje—in Greece, or elsewhere, at the convenience" of the latter. "We have major common interests with Greece. We ought to be excellent neighbors. If we sat down at a table, we could find a solution," he said.

"There is still time for a meeting with Mr. Mitsotakis, who has a constant invitation," Parliamentary Speaker Stojan Andov, the Macedonian regime's number two said. He revealed that a year ago, at the end of January, beginning of February 1992, he had a 90-minute meeting in Davos (Switzerland) with the Greek prime minister. "At the time," Mr. Andov said, "an agreement would have been possible," if Mr. Mitsotakis had not been certain that he had Europe behind him.

Just like President Gligorov, Mr. Andov is categorical: It is impossible for Skopje to abandon the name Macedonia or to make do with a composite name like "Northern Macedonia" or "Vardar Macedonia" (from the name of the river which crosses the republic and in reference to the two other geographical parts of Macedonia, Pirin Macedonia—Bulgarian—and Aegean Macedonia—Greek). "There is no question of accepting another name (than Macedonia—LE MONDE editor's note), not even a composite name," he emphasized, reaffirming in any case that President Gligorov does not have the right to accept another name and that he should submit any other solution to parliament.

Petar Gocev, a deputy and one of the most prominent Macedonian politicians, explained that "if Mr. Gligorov accepted a compromise on the name, he would have a very difficult time in parliament. It is a very, very sensitive question." A former leader of the Macedonian Communist Party and now leader of the Social Democratic Party, he stressed the fact that "a compromise would not be accepted by the people" and that any leader who accepted a compromise would be likely to be discredited.

As for the future, "any state which voted against (Macedonia's admission into the United Nations—LE MONDE editor's note) or abstained in the Security Council should not feel proud and will not feel proud," President Gligorov said, denying that he was thinking of one country in particular. Mr. Andov is more direct. After reaffirming that nobody had ever raised the slightest legal objection to the recognition of Macedonia and stating taht the EEC had not taken a particularly "serious" attitude to this affair, he asked "that the international community should tell us now if it is prepared to respect its own principles" and not to "trample them underfoot."

Land Transit Experts Hold Talks With Greeks

NC3001071993 Skopje Radio Macedonia in Greek 1900 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] A meeting between land transport experts from the Republic of Macedonia and Greece was held on our side of the Macedonian-Greek border. As stressed in an official statement, the experts agreed that some 4,000 transit licenses will be exchanged for the first three months of the year as a temporary solution [to the current transit problems] until a final agreement is reached. It was also agreed that the countries' authorities should ratify the agreement in writing by 5 February.

Our experts stressed the need for an agreement to completely resolve the road communication issue. They also stressed the mutual readiness to arrange the status of issuing visas for drivers. It was suggested that the visas be issued for more trips and longer periods of time.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Appoints Premier-Designate

LD2901180093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Podgorica, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic has appointed present Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic as premier designate of the new Montenegrin Government. [passage omitted]

Milo Djukanovic was born in 1962 in Niksic. He graduated at the Faculty of Economy in Podgorica. At the beginning of 1991 the Republican Assembly elected him Montenegrin prime minister. Thus he became the youngest prime minister in Europe. He is a member of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro Main Committee Secretariat .

Kosovo

Expert Views Albanian, Serb Nationalist Dangers

AU2801144393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 93 p 14

[Article by Bahulj Becaj, political scientist from Pristina: "Warmongers in Kosovo"]

[Text] Aware that they have become bogged down in quicksand, the gods of war at the head of the nationalist political movements in our former Yugoslavia are instigating and inviting like-minded people in the realm between war and peace to join them in a collective campaign of sado-masochism. [sentence as published] Unfortunately, the avalanche of life and death is coming dangerously close to Kosovo. The sober-minded people here are almost desperate as they wonder: How has it reached the stage where human lives are cheaper than bullets?

This irrational situation is a consequence of certain determined, or imagined national programs that defy reality. Of course, that does not mean that we should be imprisoned by such a humiliating situation for a human being. However, one must accept that the question of whether the virus of the northwest front will contaminate the southern one depends on how far these national programs reflect the real situation.

Since practically all the party programs of the Serbian authorities and opposition are compatible with the aims set out in the memorandum [on Greater Serbia, produced by the Serbian Academy of Sciences], differing only in their methodological approaches, then war is more likely to be Kosovo's imminent fate than peace. Such a view is supported by the attempts that certain ethnic Albanian, mostly intellectual, circles are making to transform their nationally still incomplete agenda (begun in the last century) into a political one. Their activities, in terms of security, are likely to trigger the same consequences as those of the Serbian nationalist programs. These are, basically, nothing other than war programs. There are several reasons for this.

First, no one with any sense could accuse the "architects" of the nationalist programs. A nationalist program, as long as it comprises and articulates strategic and existential concerns, is a perfectly natural phenomenon, and fulfills an inner need in every nation. However, such a program quickly turns into a casus belli when it is transformed into a political one, ignoring reality and objective obstacles. Even faster, if such a nationalist interest, or political program (aspiring to territorial unification in terms of international law) occurs on a nationally heterogeneous territory. And this has happened in our case.

Second, in a critical territory with a heterogeneous population one can possibly agree on transforming a nationalist program into a political one, but every violent implementation of such a transformation clearly ends in war. Hotheads are ready to sacrifice thousands of lives to gain one single kilometer of (un)questionable territory, ostensibly in the national interest. The point is not, actually, in stressing or not stressing the differences between a nationalist and a political program; it is rather in the forceful implementation of it. Nationalist leaders become political leaders and vice versa. It has been said that that only genuine protectors of national interests act that way. Allegedly, any dialogue or attempt to compromise with a nationalist program would be treason, or, at best, a sell-out. The threat to peace in Kosovo, and also in Serbia, is all the greater for the fact that the Serbian nationalist political program is to be implemented in areas of different, even mutually exclusive, interests of Serbs, ethnic Albanians, Muslims, ethnic Hungarians, and so forth.

On the other hand, the question is whether the ethnic Albanians are working out their own nationalist, or political, program in the same way as the Serbian nationalists are, or whether they are merely reacting to them or trying to spite them? One cannot be sure whether they are doing this to protect their national interest, or to acquire "authority" among their own people by using a proven model. However, those who want to confirm themselves as national leaders have been continuously repeating (or are about to repeat) the mistakes of the Serbian nationalist politicians. By consciously underplaying the great difference between a nationalist program that is an ideal, and a political program that presupposes concrete and objectively feasible solutions—the ethnic Albanians, in trying to devise a global nationalist program with political aspirations, are approaching a critical point. Conflict rather than dialogue is becoming inevitable. Different national interests are coming into collision where the Serbs, as a reason for claiming Kosovo as their "property," present some (quasi) historical argument (and also their might and advantage in armor), and the ethnic Albanians present ethnicity as their reason.

If events should lead further in that direction, any foreign interference can, at best, only postpone the conflict, but not solve the Kosovo problem.

However, war is not necessarily the only way to solve it, provided that all the architects and heroes of the nationalist programs realize that the affirmation of national interests does not necessarily imply a question of territorial ownership (and in a place like Kosovo, because of the ethnic Albanian superiority in numbers, this is not possible at all), because otherwise 90 percent of all the world's countries with heterogeneous populations would be in a state of permanent war until such time as the different ethnic groups could homogenize within those states (by means of ethnic cleansing, submission, extermination, assimilation, integration, and so on). Since some nations less civilized than the Serbs or the ethnic Albanians abstain from such anachronisms, it is realistic to expect that all of them, sooner or later, will realize this one truth: If you support the affirmation of your national interests rather than the acquisition of new territories, you must see that a necessary part of any national interest, or program, should be the affirmation and protection of other nationalities' interests in terms of respecting their political identity and individuality.

Otherwise, the "architects" of nationalist programs emerge as warmongers, even if their ideas are well-intentioned. While the Serbian regime defends itself before a number of international commissions for human rights by saying that "the ethnic Albanians are entitled to all the rights established by the CSCE, but they are demanding the territory," and the ethnic Albanian response is to claim that it is the Serbs who are striving after the territory, thereby depriving the ethnic Albanians of their fundamental rights—conflict appears to be even more inevitable. The warmongers do not care that their fellow citizens who are temporarily living abroad enjoy higher living standards and are in less danger than people who live in our former motherland.

Whether or not there will be war in Kosovo depends on the people's readiness to get rid of the tellers of various old wives' tales about heroes and warriors, people who recklessly place Serbs and ethnic Albanians in one state just by the stroke of a pen on a nationalist program manifesto. All that is needed for the creation of such a political reality is to erase several borders, and to spill gallons of blood. Just as they do after every bloodbath, things will finally start to settle down, and will be placed where they belong, but only through the triumph of reason, dialogue, and an extremely badly needed and historic ethnic Albanian-Serbian agreement.

Albanians Link Educational Reform, Status

LD2901094693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0042 GMT 29 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, January 28 (TANJUG)—The insistence of the delegation of ethnic Albanians on connecting the problem of the educational system in Kosovo-Metohija with the political status of that southern province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is the main reason for the failure of the fifth round of talks on the schooling of ethnic Albanians, Yugoslav Minister of Education Ivan Ivic said on Thursday [28 January].

Ivic said that representatives of Kosovo Albanians had not showed cooperativeness in the three-day talks which ended in Geneva on Thursday and that their position had been categorical and even in the form of ultimatum. The Yugoslav and Serbian delegation showed goodwill to meet their many demands, especially those intended to guarantee the cultural identity of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, said Ivic.

Serbian Minister of Education Danilo Markovic told TANJUG on Thursday that the ethnic Albanians' demand for educational programmes in the Albanian language not approved by the republican ministry would not be accepted.

Ethnic Albanian schoolchildren and students have had lectures in the Albanian language but they have been boycotting them over the past two years. Ethnic Albanians are a minority in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Their separatist leaders insist on a full autonomy in the field of education and do not accept educational programmes used in the Republic of Serbia.

Markovic spoke of readiness to grant a certain level of autonomy to ethnic Albanians in the area of education and said that some programmes proposed by them could be accepted but only if their content was not aimed against the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia and Serbia.

Plan To Attack Kosovo Causes Alarm

93BA0498C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 8 Jan 93 p 5

[Article by Branko Jokic: "Has Milosevic's Attack Against Kosovo Already Been Prepared?"]

[Text] *The Albanian weekly ZERI has published a military plan, according to which special units are just waiting for the order; are the Serbs perhaps just too tired for a new front?*

From our correspondent.

Pristina, 7 Jan—The reporting in the Albanian newspaper ZERI, which is edited by the "Albanian Mandela" Adem Demaci, recently seriously upset the public. The Albanians were frightened, and the Serbian authorities, as the Albanian weekly's editors claim, ordered their journalists to dramatize the matter even more.

The weekly ZERI, in fact, published a sort of military plan that the Yugoslav Army and Milosevic are supposed to start to carry out soon in Kosovo. With respect to the credibility of that document, the editorial office cites "its sources in the leadership of the Yugoslav Army," more specifically a certain Yugoslav officer who recently deserted for Switzerland. According to this plan, a war is supposed to start soon in Kosovo, since special units of

the Yugoslav Army that are supposed to act in an extremely coordinated manner have already been prepared. Two of them are supposed to penetrate from Serbia (from Nis and Kraljevo), and a third from Montenegro. The latter has a special task—to block the activity of Muslims from Sandzak (who would supposedly help the Kosovo Albanians), and also the activity of the Albanian Army, which is allegedly already in a state of readiness along the Yugoslav-Albanian border. These are specialized units (mostly tank units) of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] Army, and the Yugoslav air force is also ready at airports in Nis, Kraljevo, and Podgorica.

The plan also describes the individual units' tasks in detail, and states where the main commands of the units and the entire operation will be, and in the end, the author wonders whether the plan might not have been leaked to the public "deliberately by the KOS [counterintelligence service] in order to frighten the Albanians."

The leadership of the largest and most influential Albanian party, the DSK [Democratic Alliance of Kosovo], did not comment on the Albanian weekly's reporting. This is perhaps because Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has been at odds with Demaqi and Dr. Rexhep Qosja, who supports him as one of the most influential Albanian intellectuals, but is otherwise said to be an adherent of a policy whose goal is to push the Albanians into a war with Serbia immediately. DSK Vice President Dr. Fehim Agani, however, thinks that war is already on the threshold and that Milosevic's victory in the elections has seriously limited the possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the Kosovo question. He also judges that the Serbian opposition leaders, for instance Vuk Drasovic, are wrong in saying that Milosevic's victory suits the Albanians. In Dr. Agani's opinion, the only hope of avoiding war is the fact that the Serbian people are probably not in favor of it, because they are already tired and exhausted and it would be hard to persuade them to establish a new front, which would certainly be the fiercest and bloodiest one.

A war or a pact? That is the principal question that is being posed these days in Kosovo. There is less and less hope that the Kosovo problem will be settled by the international community, although some Albanian leaders state that they are supported by the Americans. That is why there are more and more adherents of the idea that first of all Serbia should be forced to restore to Kosovo the status of autonomy that it had under the 1974 constitution, and that only afterward the Albanians should try to fulfill their concept of an independent Kosovo.

The Serbian authorities obviously think differently. Publicly no one is talking about a possible partition of Kosovo between Albania and Serbia, although the Serbian state leadership's plans for Kosovo have already contained that idea for quite a long time. Perhaps it is also associated with the concept of a partition of Macedonia. A great deal is being said about this, and it is not a coincidence that the blue helmets have been deployed precisely on the Macedonian border with Albania and Serbia. At the same time, it is not a coincidence that people in Skopje are most afraid of Kosovo, i.e., Serbia and Albania.